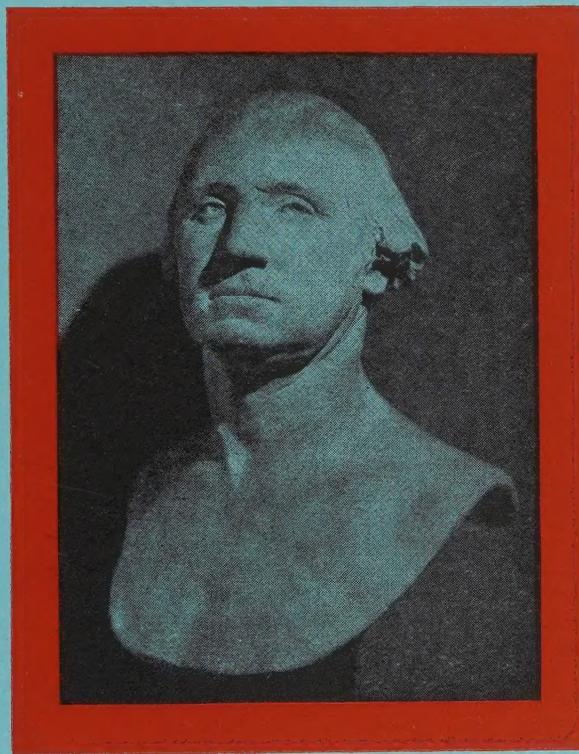


# GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

*MARCH 1948*



## *C O N T E N T S*

TWO DOSSO PUZZLES IN WASHINGTON AND IN NEW YORK, BY E. TIETZE-CONRAD. ¶ HOUDON'S *WASHINGTON* AT MOUNT VERNON RE-EXAMINED, BY CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR. ¶ A FRENCH PRIEST, PAINTER AND ARCHITECT IN THE UNITED STATES: JOSEPH-PIERRE PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE, BY ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE. ¶ THE CLASSIC ART OF RENOIR, BY PAUL M. LAPORTE. ¶ BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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# TWO DOSSO PUZZLES IN WASHINGTON AND IN NEW YORK

THE two paintings by Dosso Dossi, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 1) and in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Fig. 2), are for various reasons particularly attractive for us moderns: 1) because their technique is impressionistic, 2) because they do not try to tell a precise story, 3) because both are intimate instead of imposing in size. The one in the Metropolitan Museum is of dimensions which in the studio jargon of Paris are called "*50 figure*," the one in the National Gallery "*40 paysage*"; both formats are popular with the buying public. The sketchy execution, seen especially in the Washington painting, has been made familiar to the modern onlooker by XIX Century Impressionism with which the painting has often been compared. The delicate rendering of light, again in the Washington painting, points in the same direction. There is such unrestrained playfulness in these sparkling slabs of color that it reminds us even of post-Impressionistic art like Dufresne's world of romance.

Along with this subjectivism there is the vagueness of the subject-matter. The Catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum calls the painting "similar in conception" to Titian's *Three Ages of Man*, in Bridgewater House. In Titian's composition, however, the content is entirely clear: a young couple in tender embrace; another couple — this time two children — whom Cupid tries in vain to wake; in the distance an old man contemplating a skull. In Dosso's painting, it is true, there



FIG. 1. — DOSSO DOSSI. — *Three Ages of Man*. — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

appears also a couple of pastoral lovers at whom two mischievous boys are peeping, and in the background the meditating mourner is replaced by two men in conversation. If Dosso really meant to represent the three ages of man, he succeeded in making the representation non-understandable.

For the painting in Washington two interpretations have been offered. The earlier, still prevailing in literature, was *Departure of the Argonauts*, the newer title suggested also in the Preliminary Catalogue of the gallery is *Scene from a Legend* — indeed, an epic without a hero, a legend without a saint! By the mysterious veiling of the subject-matter, art critics writing about Dosso have repeatedly been reminded of Giorgione. Reminiscent of him is also the small format of the two

paintings; it brings to our mind the esoteric mythological representations which Michiel described in the studios of the Venetian intelligentsia. How much more attractive are these Dossos, both only lately come to light, than the hackneyed altarpieces and other religious paintings, and the literal-minded mythological subjects on which older collections pride themselves!

Let us examine one of these well established works: *St. Jerome*, in Vienna,



FIG. 2. — DOSSO DOSSI. — Scene from a Legend. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

from the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm Collection, the only painting by Dosso so far known which bears a signature (Fig. 3). The saint is painted with a broad brush, but there is no doubt concerning the content of the painting. At the right, however, there is a landscape with a building that might be a convent, and with figures next to it that might represent a devout congregation. Nothing is precisely expressed; perhaps, after all, this means only an oriental setting. The distant view is overlapped by the huge book, the broken column, the knoll with leafy trees. A resemblance to the painting by Dosso in the Metropolitan Museum is the empty strip behind the book of the saint, indicating a neutral middleground. In the *St. Jerome* the empty interval between the *repoussoir* in the foreground and the distant view has its distinct function.



FIG. 3. — DOSSO DOSSI. — St. Jerome. — Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

The succession of *repoussoir*, middleground and background in the *St. Jerome* is sharply expressed. A similar succession of three planes within the view is very much subdued by atmospheric influences both in the outlines and in the color scale. The local colors typical of a close view are replaced by colors characteristic of a distant view which the intervening air blends with blue. Neither must what is distant be too precise in content in order not to draw attention away from the main subject. Leonardo da Vinci has given much thought to these modifications of form and color caused by the intervening atmosphere ". . . and that building which is more distant, made less defined and bluer."<sup>1</sup> And elsewhere: "If the true outlines of opaque bodies become indistinguishable at any short distance, they will be still more imperceptible at great distances."<sup>2</sup> And with emphasis: "Therefore, painter, you should make your lesser figures only suggested and not highly finished."<sup>3</sup>

And just as for its formal rendering the distant view should be only suggested, its subject-matter also has to limit itself to some general hints in order not to blur the effect of the principal scene. What is shown in the background of the

1. *Leonardo da Vinci's Notebooks*, EDWARD McCURDY ED., London, 1910, 3d. ed., p. 214.

2. *Loc. cit.*, p. 215.

3. *Loc. cit.*, p. 222.

Vienna *St. Jerome*? Imagine it to be cut away from the whole composition (Fig. 4). Would we not in such a case hesitate as to whether it is mythology or legend?

It is now clear what all this implies: the paintings, both at Washington and in the Metropolitan Museum, are pictures within pictures, cut out of bigger compositions in which originally they were distant views.

How large must such compositions have been? The Metropolitan Museum painting is  $30\frac{1}{2}$  inches high and 44 inches wide; it ends at the lower left with tops of small trees and trunks emerging from below, and at its top, with foliage and a narrow strip of sky. It may have been the distant view on the left in a painting of approximately the size of the so-called *Circe* in Washington (Fig. 5). Or it may have been placed in the center of a vertical composition similar to the *Apollo*, in the Borghese Gallery (Fig. 6).

The *Departure of the Argonauts* is smaller (h.  $22\frac{7}{8}$  inches; w.  $43\frac{1}{2}$  inches) and thus easier to place. I do not think it has been cut at the top and at the right; on



FIG. 4. — DOSSO DOSSI. — *St. Jerome*. — Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Detail).



FIG. 5. — DOSSO DOSSI. — Circe and her Lovers in a Landscape. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

the left the composition may have fused gradually into a landscape. What do the two figures at the right mean? They are bigger and more precisely drawn than those at the left and show in clearness and proportions like figures in the foreground of a painting. If, however, this is already the foreground, no space would be left for a principal figure the proportions of which would have to correspond to those of the two knights. Is this a proof against my theory which considers the Washington painting a "picture within a picture?" No, it is a distant view showing the succession described above in the discussion of the Vienna *Saint Jerome*, of *repoussoir*, middleground and background. The preserved fragment was a distant view beyond a wall or parapet, which we still may recognize by the strip forming the bottom of the painting: the wedge-shaped meadow on which the knights are standing is not continued up to the edge of the painting. At this point the wall cut in and separated the stage with the now lost principal scene from the background. The painting from which the Washington one by Dosso was cut must

have been a composition similar to the altarpiece with *Saints and two Donors* in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome.<sup>4</sup>

The two brothers, Dosso and Giovanni Battista, were famous as landscape painters.<sup>5</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle had already noticed that one of them had been employed by Raphael to paint the landscape in the background of his *Madonna di Foligno*.<sup>6</sup> Recently R. Longhi has taken up this hint and illustrated the landscape from Raphael's altarpiece in his *Officina Ferrarese*.<sup>7</sup> To which of the two brothers is credit to be given for this share in Raphael's painting? Documentary evidence leaves the question undecided. Both had been in Rome, both had friendly relations with Raphael.

One thing at least is certain: the two fragments in Washington and in the Metropolitan Museum are different in style. Must we then allocate one of them to each of the brothers, or were they painted by the same hand, but at different dates?<sup>8</sup>

4. Reproduced by HENRIETTE MENDELSON.

5. LOMAZZO, *Trattato della Pittura*, Milan, 1585, p. 474.—MENDELSON, *Loc. cit.*, p. 12: "Dosso seems to have been one of the pioneers of pure landscape without staffage." To prove this point she refers to a drawing representing Ferrara, which Isabella d'Este ordered from him in 1523, to copy as a mural in her palace in Mantua. We may imagine such a drawing as a topographical representation like those of Paris, Venice, Cairo, which Isabella had ordered from Giovanni Bellini as early as 1493.

6. J. A. CROWE AND G. CAVALCASELLE, *Raphael*, London, 1885, II, p. 164s.

7. R. LONGHI, *Officina Ferrarese*, Rome, 1934, p. 195.

8. The earlier literature on the painting in the Metropolitan Museum is listed in: *Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings*, by HARRY B. WEHLE, New York, 1940, p. 148s.

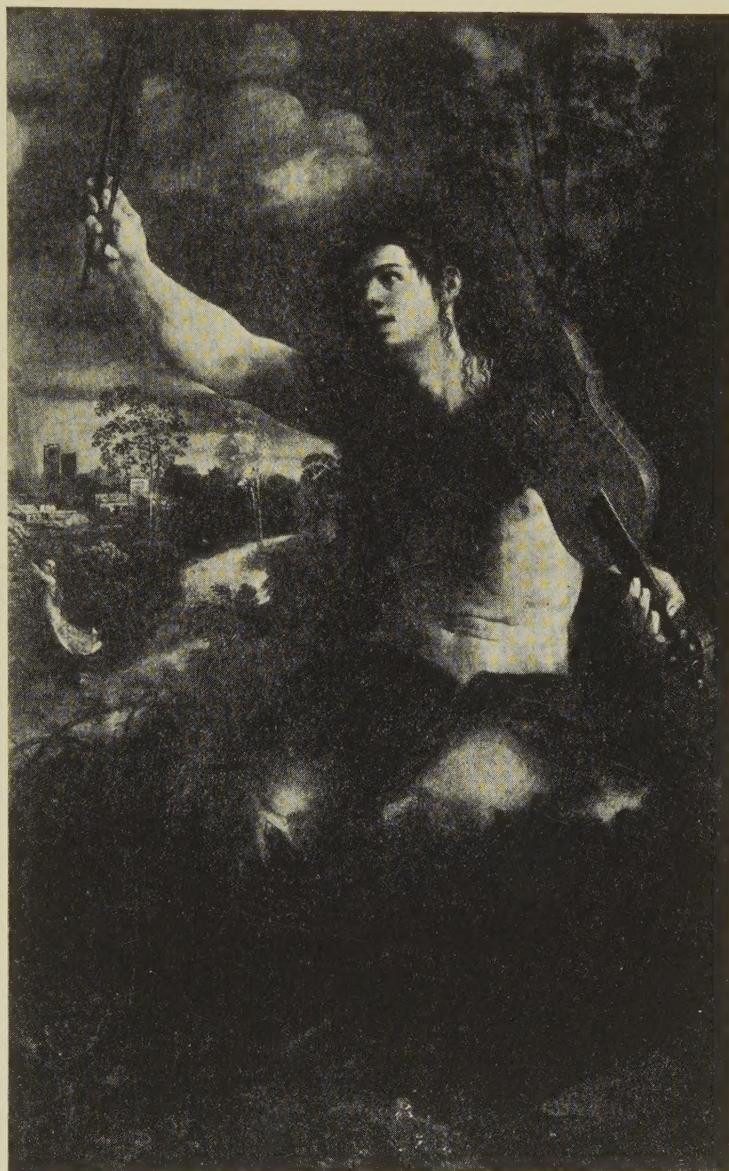


FIG. 6.—DOSSO DOSSI.—Apollo.—Borghese Gallery, Rome.

The stylistic relationship of the landscape in Washington to the background of the *Saint Jerome* in Vienna seems striking to me, but opinions on this painting differ. Patzak, for instance, ascribed it to Giovanni Battista. Others even bisected it and claimed the landscape part for Giovanni Battista. Notwithstanding Longhi's ingenious reconstruction of the early history of the two brothers, we must insist that it is still far from settled. If the newly acquired mythological painting in the National Gallery, London, were indeed, as we suggest, identical with the composition of eleven figures painted by Dosso Dossi for Federigo Gonzaga in 1512, a new interpretation of the early history of the two brothers and a new allocation of the works between them would be inevitable.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that the two paintings are fragments should not diminish their value. Since our eyes are not used to dwelling on such details within a picture, the paintings surprise and stimulate when, in a museum, they are cut, framed and presented as complete compositions. In the museum atmosphere, always a strain for the uninitiated visitor, such an effect is most welcome. Nevertheless the public should not be left in the dark as to their being distant views changed into "close-ups." Otherwise the visitor might be led to believe that such dissolution of form and such vagueness came within the range of painting in the early XVI Century. I have to confess that I was myself deceived for a long time and was tempted to place the *Departure of the Argonauts* in the time of Caletti, the belated imitator of Dosso. An explanatory label would not impair our enjoyment of the paintings. The *Pictures Within Pictures*, in Sir Kenneth Clark's volume brought out by the National Gallery in London, were enthusiastically accepted by the public thus given an opportunity of exploring unknown territory.

E. TIETZE-CONRAT.



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9. As for the *Three Ages of Man*, an attribution to Garofalo should also be taken into consideration. In that artist's oversized altarpieces, now in the Gallery of Ferrara, views of a similar character and color scheme are to be found.



# HOUDON'S *WASHINGTON* AT MOUNT VERNON RE-EXAMINED

"... There is no looking at this bust without admiration and delight. The noble air, sublime expression and faithful likeness evince the hand of a master...."

FRANCIS HOPKINSON to THOMAS JEFFERSON,  
October 25, 1785.

**T**HE story of Houdon's trip to Mount Vernon in October of 1785 is extremely well known. As a chapter in the history of cultural relations between France and the United States of America it has deservedly attracted a great deal of interest. It is perhaps natural that the details of the visit should have been exploited as social history or biographical anecdote. But it is almost inconceivable that the chief artistic event of Houdon's visit — the modeling of Wash-

ington's portrait-bust from life — should have received up to this late date so little attention from historians of art.

There should be no serious doubt today that the bust modeled by Houdon in the autumn of 1785 is still at Mount Vernon.<sup>1</sup> It has been for years on public view, latterly in the Museum close by the Mansion. Yet for the modern student of the history of art, dependent as he must be in large measure on bibliography, it has all but disappeared. The two most authoritative accounts of Houdon's visit of 1785 published in America disregard the Mount Vernon bust and tend to confuse Houdon's model with a later variant in the Louvre.<sup>2</sup> The only reasonably recent American publications of the bust in connection with Washington's iconography are either wanting in accurate detailed information or mistaken as to the artistic quality of the sculpture in major conclusions.<sup>3</sup> Comprehensive art-historical surveys of Houdon's work published in France do not list the Mount Vernon bust at all.<sup>4</sup>

Houdon's original clay bust, together with the life mask taken of Washington's features and the measurements made of the subject's body, represent preliminary studies for the marble statue now at Richmond and, in Houdon's mind at least, for the bronze equestrian statue which he never was able to carry to completion. In this sense, the bust is interrelated with objective and quantitative data bearing on accurate representation of Washington's appearance.

Admittedly such quantitative aspects have much to do with the art-historical problem; they throw light on the intentions of the artist, explain the nature of the commission, and reflect the taste of a generation on both sides of the Atlantic. There are, however, certain subjective and qualitative factors which appear in the clay bust alone. As far as can be judged from what is known of Houdon's method of procedure, the bust was the first testing ground of the subtle combination of factual appearance, expression of character, and harmony of abstract forms which

1. I am grateful to the MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION for permission to study the Houdon bust in its custody, to MR. CHARLES WALL, Superintendent, and MR. WORTH BAILEY, Curator, at Mount Vernon, for their cooperation. MR. BAILEY's advice and help on historical materials have been very valuable; I am particularly indebted to him for opening to me the file on the bust in his care and for prints of documentary photographs published here for the first time. I want also to thank MR. ROBERT C. GOOCH, Chief of the General Reference and Bibliography Division of the Library of Congress, MR. DONALD H. MUGRIDGE, Fellow in American History in that library, and MR. IRVING BRANT for their interest in tracking down the basis for dealing with a subsidiary problem connected with James Madison.

2. GILBERT CHINARD, *Houdon in America* (Historical Documents, Institut Français de Washington, IV), Baltimore-London-Oxford, 1930, p. xx; CHARLES HENRY HART and EDWARD BIDDLE, *Jean Antoine Houdon*, Philadelphia, 1911, p. 206.

3. JOHN HILL MORGAN and MANTLE FIELDING, *Life Portraits of Washington and their Replicas*, Philadelphia, 1931, pp. 99, 112, 113; GUSTAVUS EISEN and WILFORD S. CONROW, *The Leutze-Stellwagen Mask of Washington in the Corcoran Gallery of Art and its Connections*, in: "Art and Archeology," XXIX, 1930, pp. 65-75 (and in: *History of the George Washington Bicentennial Celebration*, Washington, 1932, III, 294-302). The EISEN-CONROW thesis, with an uneven treatment of the bust's history, is also given an extended study in: GUSTAVUS EISEN, *Portraits of Washington*, New York, 1932, III, 759-812.

4. GEORGES GIACOMETTI, *La Vie et l'Oeuvre de Houdon*, Paris, 1929; LOUIS RÉAU, *Houdon (Coll. Les Grands Artistes)*, Paris, 1930. European writers on Houdon appear from the beginning to have lost touch with the Mount Vernon bust. This negative tradition, reinforced by the fact that the bust was not on exhibition between roughly 1885 and 1910, helps to explain the failure of more recent European scholarship to recognize its value.

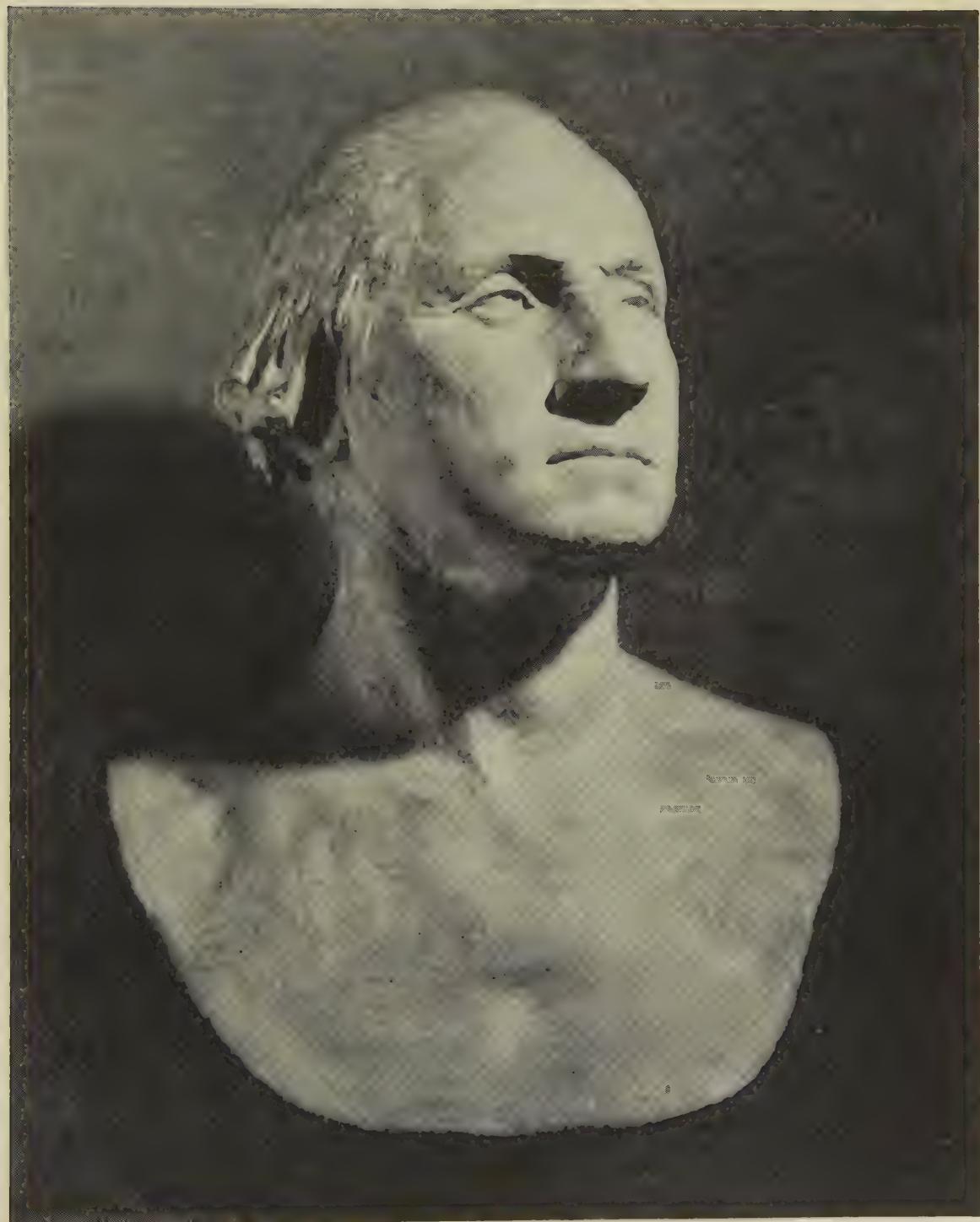


FIG. 1.—HOUDON.—George Washington, coated terra cotta, front view.—Mount Vernon, Museum. Photo. Henry B. Beville.

was his ultimate aim in portraiture. By an extraordinary set of circumstances, the clay original preserving to a considerable degree the freshness of Houdon's first contact with his artistic problem, is still available. I propose here to describe the bust at Mount Vernon, to review the written sources dealing with its history, to suggest its place in Houdon's oeuvre and to indicate its importance as a document for further study of Houdon's style.

\* \* \*

The bust at Mount Vernon represents Washington with chin tilted and turned slightly to his left; the hair is dressed simply, drawn back from the forehead and fastened in a queue behind; the chest and shoulders are left nude (Figs. 1 to 4). Along the curving section at the right, at shoulder height, are the signature and date inscribed in a convincing style: *HOUDON F. 1785* (Fig. 5).<sup>5</sup> The material of the bust, determined from a sample taken from the underside of the back, is terra cotta covered with white paint. It stands on a plaster *piedouche*, painted black, apparently of the period. The bust is just under life size.

There are no indications that the bust is a cast. Evidence from measurements that it was modeled directly in clay — and not cast in a relatively thin section of clay — has been set forth by Eisen and Conrow. There appears to be no reason to doubt their inference that the noticeable shrinkage as compared with the plaster mold of Washington's features taken from life, reflects the distortion to be expected from the drying out of the original clay model.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that the clay was fired brings up two observations. From the point of view of craftsmanship and the European tradition of working with terra cotta, firing of the solid clay model as built up on the armature is hardly to be expected. To avoid cracking, the thickness of the clay section should be reduced as much as possible. In this regard, a series of connected ridges forming a rough square on the back of the head (Fig. 6) are of great interest. These ridges are not to be confused with markings left by piece-molds. They are best to be explained as the result of a kind of trepanning operation on the original whereby a certain amount of clay and the armature — if one was used — were removed from the interior prior to firing.<sup>7</sup> The second observation concerns the facilities for firing the bust at Mount Vernon itself. Washington's *Diary* expatiates in detail on Houdon's use of the baking oven in the kitchen to prepare plaster of Paris for his molds and casts.<sup>8</sup>

5. See: GIACOMETTI, *Op. cit.*, I, 144-148, for comparative material.

6. EISEN AND CONROW, *Op. cit.*, 1930, p. 68. The measurements of the face and head given in great detail by those authors are tabulated on pp. 72 and 73. I give here measurements, which have not hitherto been published, in inches followed by metric equivalents: overall height, 32 (0.813); *piedouche*, 4 $\frac{1}{16}$  (0.127); width across back, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  (0.317); thickness, bridge of nose to back of head, 7 $\frac{15}{16}$  (0.202); thickness at "F." of signature,  $\frac{5}{8}$  (0.015).

7. This suggestion was earlier made by the sculptor, CHESTER BEACH, in a letter to GUSTAVUS EISEN dated January 7, 1925, of which a copy is preserved in the Mount Vernon File. The detail was not apparently considered important by EISEN or CONROW for no reference is made to BEACH's theory in their article of 1930.

8. JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, ED., *The Diaries of George Washington*, Boston-New York, 1925, II, 421.

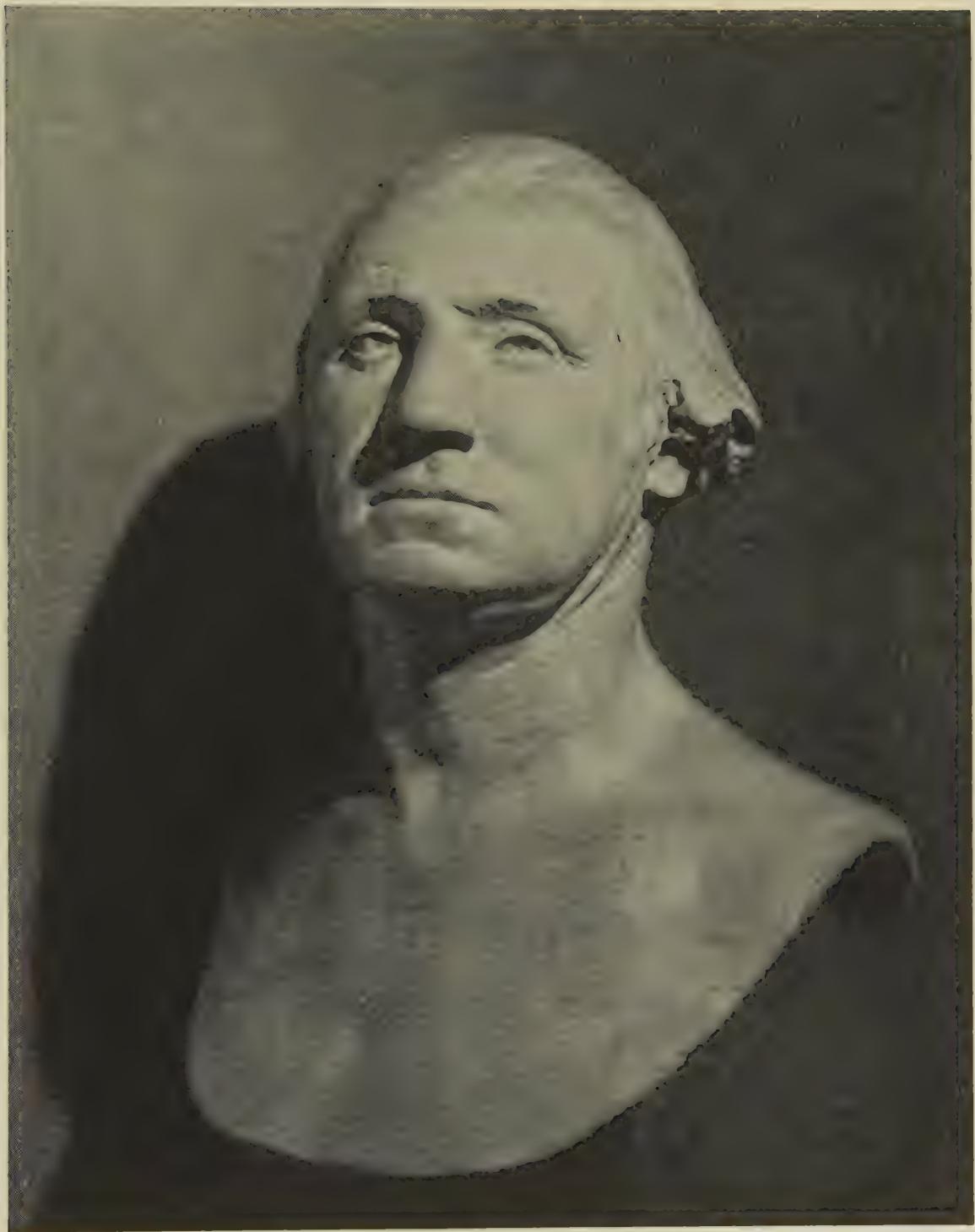


FIG. 2. — HOUDON. — George Washington, coated terra cotta, from the right. — Mount Vernon, Museum. Photo. Henry B. Beville.

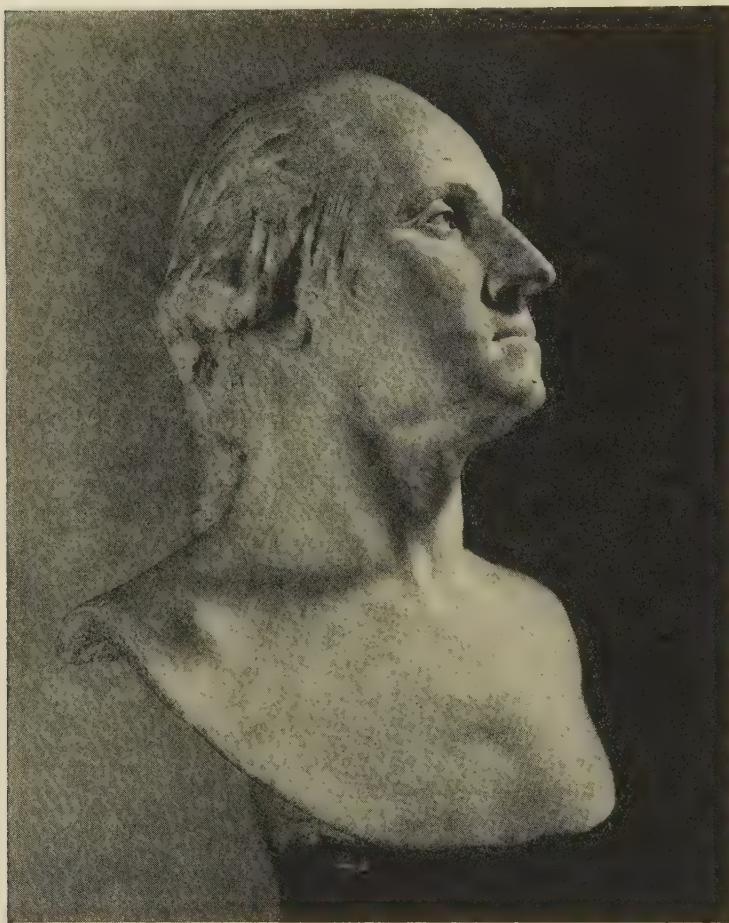


FIG. 3. — HOUDON. — George Washington, coated terra cotta, right profile. — Mount Vernon, Museum. Photo. Henry B. Beville.

the sculptor during his stay at Mount Vernon. Under normal circumstances, the molds taken from the model would be sufficient for the sculptor's purposes of future reproduction in plaster or terra cotta. There is ample evidence that molds were made from the bust at Mount Vernon before Houdon's departure.<sup>9</sup> But for some reason, perhaps a direct request from the sitter or Mrs. Washington, Houdon wished to save his original clay model. The decision to fire the model must have stemmed from reasons of preservation. And although technically the time element and perhaps the inadequacy of the baking oven as a kiln might have been considered as serious drawbacks by a conscientious craftsman, almost any form of firing

9. There is a description of a cast in Philadelphia as early as October 25, 1785 (HOPKINSON to JEFFERSON, October 25, 1785); also confirmed by evidence of the bust itself, as later shown in the text of this article. It is possible, but not proved, that a cast or casts were taken from the molds while Houdon and his assistants were still at Mount Vernon. Houdon returned to Philadelphia from Alexandria on October 20 (see: HART AND BIDDLE, *Op. cit.*, p. 203).

From the *Diary* entry it is also evident that there was some control of heat within the oven. If the oven could be used successfully to prepare plaster for the making of molds, there is no good reason to believe that it would be unsuitable for rough firing of clay, provided the opening was large enough to admit the bust. Measurement of the opening of the original oven, fortunately still in place, shows that it was amply large enough to insert and safely withdraw the bust.

Since the *Diary* does not mention the operation of firing, the use of the oven in connection with the bust must remain an hypothesis. But it would appear to be an extremely likely solution for the problem, also unrecorded, which apparently faced

to harden the clay would be better than to leave it in the friable state of the material as dried merely in the atmosphere of a Virginia fall.

If the bust had not been fired, it is entirely probable that it could not have survived the rough handling it appears to have received during the XIX Century. At the same time, the *ad hoc* method of firing, almost certainly before the clay had completely dried out, could hardly have produced the durable results which Houdon would have obtained in his own studio. This reconstruction of a technical problem does much to explain the dilapidation of the bust as recorded toward 1885 when it was withdrawn from exhibition. At that time, serious cracks had developed across the chest and in the

area of the neck; the queue had become loosened, if not actually broken off; the tip of the nose had been broken and clumsily repaired, the nostrils injured; the lobe of one ear had been broken off.<sup>10</sup> Photographs made probably by 1894 and very possibly somewhat before then reveal the main areas of damage;<sup>11</sup> they show that the surface was already covered with a white substance resembling paint (Figs. 7 and 8). Restoration was not attempted until 1910, when repair of the bust was undertaken by an Italian named Antonio Paladini. The work was done at Mount Vernon on April 12 in the presence of the superintendent, Colonel Dodge, a section of whose later account runs as follows:

10. Mount Vernon File: Report of COLONEL HARRISON DODGE, Superintendent, dated May 14, 1932.

11. There is in the file at Mount Vernon no exact information as to the date of these photographs. A letter from HENRY OSBORNE TAYLOR of April 4, 1934, mentions some old photographs taken about 1890. However, in the Minutes of the Association dated 1894, p. 57, there is a passage directing that the bust should be photographed in its "present condition," thus suggesting a slightly later date.



FIG. 4. — HOUDON. — George Washington, coated terra cotta, left profile. — Mount Vernon, Museum. Photo, Henry B. Beville.

"I was with him [Paladini] every moment of the time when so treating it, and his process was to burn shellac to an intensive degree of adhesiveness and with that the cue and the lobe of the ear were refastened.

"All of the cracks, too, were definitely filled and then, after due consideration of propriety, I permitted Mr. Paladini to give the entire bust a very thin application of shellac. This was deemed not only expedient but essential to protect this clay material from absorbing the atmospheric dampness. Later

[June], then to give the entire bust the appearance of a permanent work of art, it was given a very thin coat of Chinese white for the purpose of hiding the mottled appearance which the clay bust had assumed."<sup>12</sup>

No further repairs are on record since 1910. Visual examination of the bust as it stands today bears out the account given above. What previous repairs may have been made can be surmised although they are undocumented. It is possible that the bust may have been damaged at about the time Clark Mills took his cast in the mid-XIX Century. The clumsy repairs to the nose visible in the early photographs may have been made then. It is also possible that some white paint was added at the same time.<sup>13</sup> The first coating must have been put on rather early, conceivably during the XVIII Century, to imitate plaster or marble or to hide imperfections left from the molds taken while the clay was still wet. As indications of



FIG. 5.—HOUDON.—George Washington, coated terra cotta, detail with signature and date on right shoulder.—Mount Vernon, Museum. Photo, Henry B. Beville.

12. Mount Vernon File: Report of COLONEL HARRISON DODGE dated May 14, 1932. The facts are substantiated by Dodge's shorter report of April 12, 1910. Except for Paladini's vagueness regarding date they are borne out by Paladini's deposition (some years after the event) published by GUSTAVUS EISEN (*Op. cit., Portraits*, III, 797).

13. Mills reported that the bust was mottled and discolored when he took his cast in 1849. Photographs before 1910 show some injured portions as white.

that procedure of casting there are traces of adhesions or patching under the right eye and over the left eye, as seen best in a reproduction of a detail of the face, from the left (Fig. 9).<sup>14</sup> The same illustration reveals the more modern reworking of the nose, but it also makes clear the extraordinary breadth of modeling and subtlety of detail in the original portions which not even complete coatings of shellac and white paint can entirely obscure.

\* \* \*

The white coating, which is perhaps the most severe handicap to the understanding and appreciation of the sculpture of the Mount Vernon bust today, also plays an important role in the problems relating to documentation. It was probably because of a superficial resemblance to plaster that the bust was first mentioned after Washington's death as a plaster. The inventory taken at Mount Vernon in 1800 lists specifically in the "Study":

"I Bust of General Washington in plaster from the life."<sup>15</sup>

From this entry, it has been held that the bust left by Houdon at Mount Vernon actually was a plaster cast. The corollary that Houdon might have taken back to France the original clay model was a natural step; and the conclusion that the



FIG. 6. — HOUDON. — George Washington, coated terra cotta, rear view from the left. — Mount Vernon, Museum. Photo. Henry B. Beville.

14. Evidence of pulling was also noticed in the area of the hair by CHESTER BEACH, who interpreted the effects as the result of taking molds on the wet clay as he had done in his own work (letter to GUSTAVUS EISEN, January 7, 1925). EISEN (*Op. cit., Portraits*, III, 784) mentions traces of piece-molds noticed from photographs of the bust. This analysis is, however, difficult to assess, especially in view of the white coating and of Mills' molding.

15. EUGENE E. PRUSSING, *The Estate of George Washington, Deceased*, Boston, 1927, Appendix, II, 417.

terra cotta now in the Louvre (Fig. 14), which had remained in Houdon's atelier until the Sale of 1828, was Houdon's original model, became not unreasonable.<sup>16</sup> The way was thus open for a number of errors whose cumulative effect is the more difficult to combat because a "document" was used as a foundation for the chain of reasoning.

A critical method which involves reading "clay" for "plaster" in an inventory, may appear unduly arbitrary. Nevertheless, the truth of the matter does seem to rest on such a correction. If one remembers that the bust—its first white coating still relatively fresh—was placed rather high in Washington's study, and that the executors' inventory was drawn up by gentlemen who had no professional competence in the identification of sculptural materials, the error in the inventory as to material is understandable.



FIG. 7.—HOUDON.—George Washington, coated terra cotta, condition before restoration of 1910. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

The inventory of 1800 mentions only three sculptural representations of Washington at Mount Vernon. All are placed in the "Study," now called the Library. The "bust in plaster from the life" is appraised at \$100; another bust in "marble" is given half that value and a relief is put down as worth \$25; the two latter examples at any rate are not to be confused with Houdon's bust.<sup>17</sup> Mention of a bust

16. This I take to be the logical basis for the conclusion which HART AND BIDDLE reached when they designated the Louvre terra cotta as the original model. They apparently did not know the Mount Vernon bust.

17. PRUSSING, *Loc. cit.* The "marble" bust has been identified by MR. BAILEY (verbal communication) with a Sèvres biscuit representing Necker. It must then correspond to the small bust of Necker, given by the Count d'Estaing to Washington, in 1790, which LOSING found in 1858 in the Library

• (*Continued on next page*)

of himself at Mount Vernon was made by Washington in 1787, and the context would indicate that it was very close to life size since it was to stand as a pendant to a plaster cast of Houdon's *John Paul Jones*.<sup>18</sup> This might conceivably have been the "full-size bust" on a bracket in the Library seen and sketched by Lossing in 1858. A curious line-cut published by Lossing in his book on Mount Vernon in 1859 (p. 230) represents this bust as one of Lafayette. Like the Houdon *Washington* at Mount Vernon, the subject appears bare-chested. Lossing states that it is a copy of the Houdon *Lafayette* at Richmond — a manifest impossibility. No other similar bust of Washington was introduced into Mount Vernon until the mid-XIX Century, when Clark Mills presented the first cast in plaster of his bust done after Houdon's original.



FIG. 8. — HOUDON. — George Washington, coated terra cotta, condition before restoration of 1910. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

Clark Mills presented the first cast in plaster of his bust done after Houdon's original.

at Mount Vernon; according to the Mount Vernon tradition, this bust was placed by Washington himself on a bracket over the Library fireplace (BENSON J. LOSSING, *Mount Vernon and its Associations*, New York, 1859, pp. 221-229, illustrated). The relief, apparently a plaster profile, has been identified with the example by Joseph Wright which passed through the Custis and Lee families. This medallion was called by G. W. P. CUSTIS a "half-bust by Houdon" (see his *Recollections and Private Memoirs of George Washington*, New York, 1860, p. 517); the correct attribution to Wright was suggested by E. B. BRYANT in 1882 and confirmed in 1930 by FISKE KIMBALL. The latter supposes the use of lax terminology in one of Washington's letters early in 1785 mentioning the receipt of a plaster "bust" by Wright and suggests that this "bust" at Mount Vernon might have been in fact the low-relief medallion (see: Joseph Wright and his Portraits of Washington—Sculpture, in: "Antiques," Jan. 1930, pp. 36-38). Washington's letter to Wright mentioning the receipt of the "bust" is notable in revealing the interest of Mrs. Washington in acquiring a "large" portrait-bust of her husband. There was apparently no further inquiry from Mount Vernon with regard to a life size bust by Wright; one is tempted to think that the clay original by Houdon filled this need.

18. WASHINGTON to JOHN PAUL JONES, September 2, 1787: JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, ED., *The Writings of George Washington*, Washington, 1939, XXIX, 270-271.

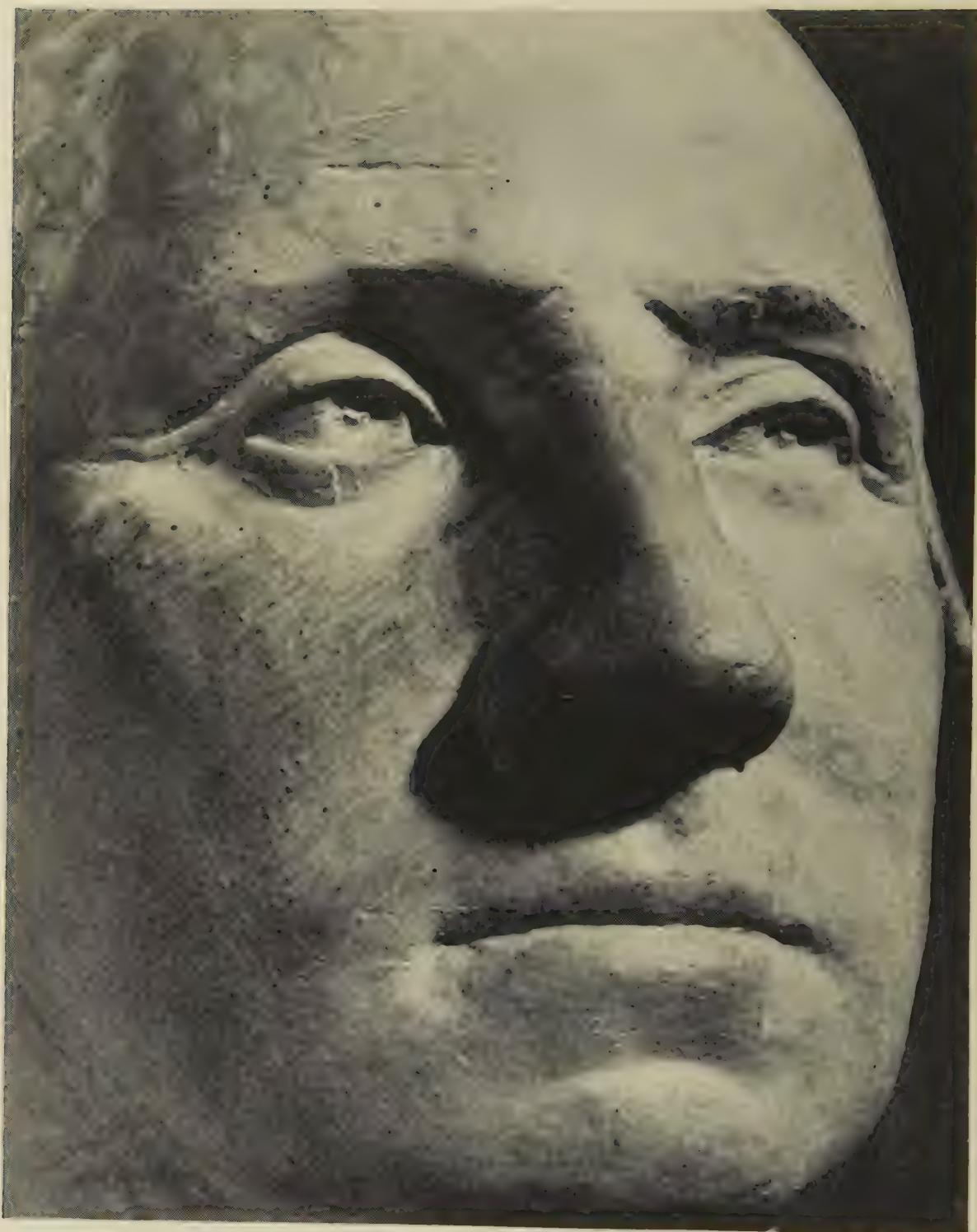


FIG. 9 — HOUDON — George Washington, coated terra cotta, detail of face, from the left — Mount Vernon Museum.  
Photo, Henry B. Beville.

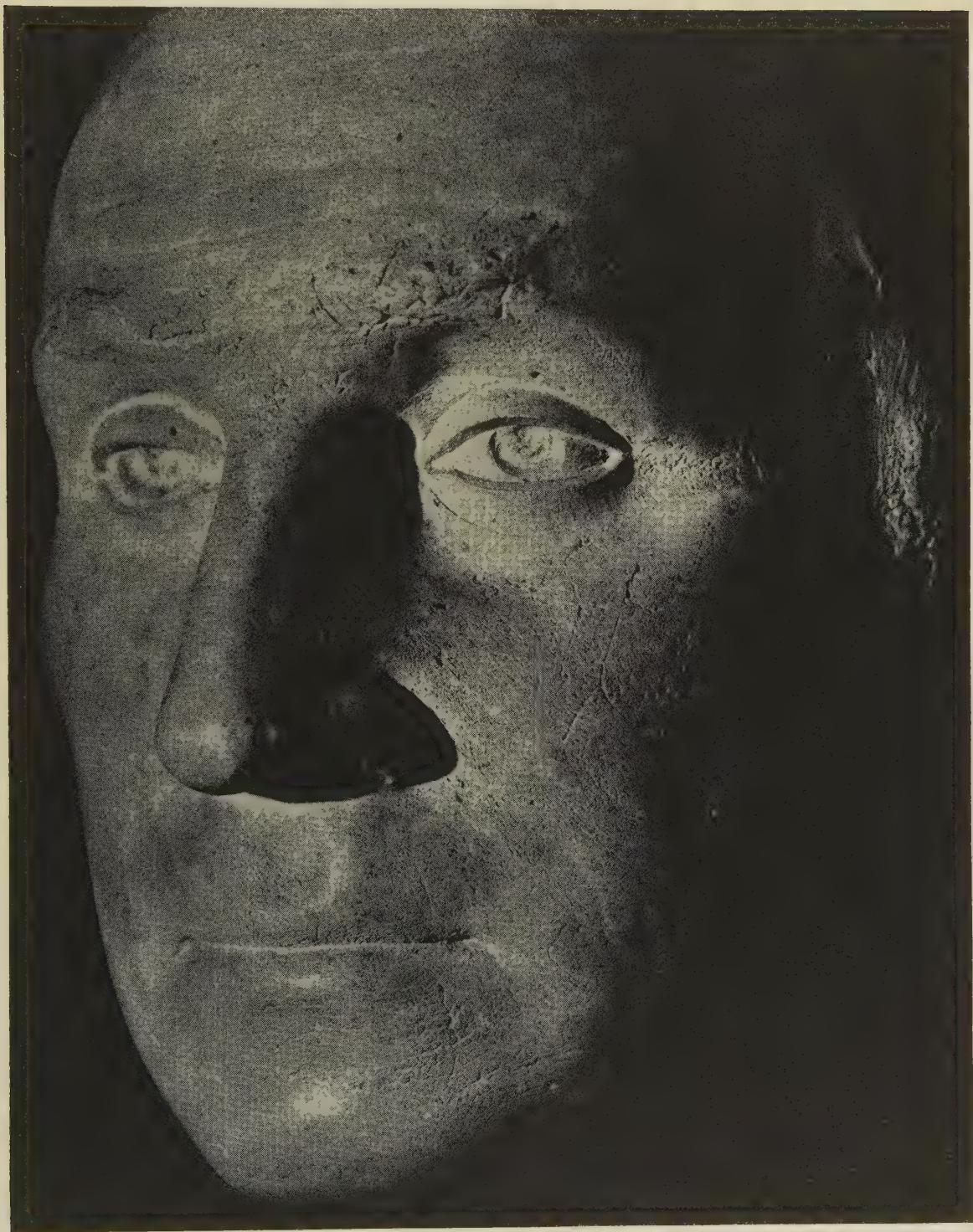


FIG. 10. — HOUDON. — Life mask of Washington, plaster. — Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.  
*Photo. Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library.*

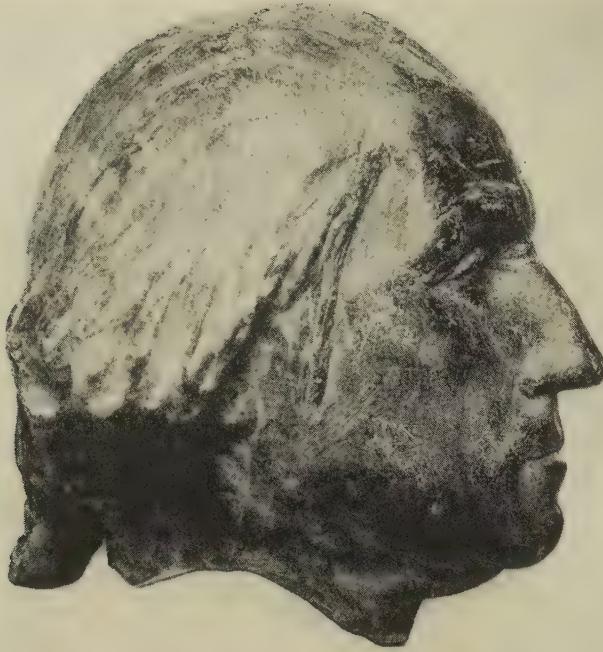


FIG. 11.—MILLS.—George Washington, plaster, study cast after bust at Mount Vernon.—Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

brary. The story invented after Mills' work at Mount Vernon, according to which Mills took off the original and left a copy, has by now been fully exploded and should require no further comment. The incident, however, had its effect on earlier work connected with Houdon's *Washington*; see, for example, ELIZABETH BRYANT JOHNSTON, *Original Portraits of Washington*, Boston; 1882, pp. 165-167 (illustrated as the Houdon original is the Mills cast). A curious remainder of this myth is the illustration of the Mills cast in: GIACOMETTI, *Op. cit.*, II, opposite p. 176, erroneously labeled as the marble statue in Richmond.

20. JOHN A. WASHINGTON, *Loc. cit.*: . . . "There is a bust here [Mount Vernon] bearing the mark 'Houdon 1785' which the late Major Lewis and his wife—both members of General Washington's household—told me was the bust of Washington taken from the mould of his face and left here by Houdon, and placed by General Washington in the position it now occupies. This bust is made of clay. . . ." The same verbal tradition was given to BENSON J. LOSSING at the time of his visit to Mount Vernon in 1858: LOSSING, *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-163. EISEN's attempt (*Op. cit., Portraits*, III, 792-793) to discredit the Mount Vernon tradition by trying to prove by the *Diary* that Houdon took away the original model is unconvincing and historically confusing.

21. PRUSSING, *Op. cit., passim.*

don's terra cotta at Mount Vernon to Colonel John A. Washington.<sup>19</sup>

Family tradition at that period clearly identified the fired clay bust under discussion here with Houdon's signed original, modeled in clay which he had left at Mount Vernon in 1785.<sup>20</sup> I have found no indication of a bequest by Washington of a bust of himself, nor does such a bust appear in a recorded sale of the estate or in Martha Washington's will.<sup>21</sup> There is no reason to doubt that the bust the family believed to have been

19. JOHN A. WASHINGTON to W. J. HUBARD, October 8, 1859: MORGAN AND FIELDING, *Op. cit.* p. 112. The Mills cast is still at Mount Vernon and is now shown in the Li-

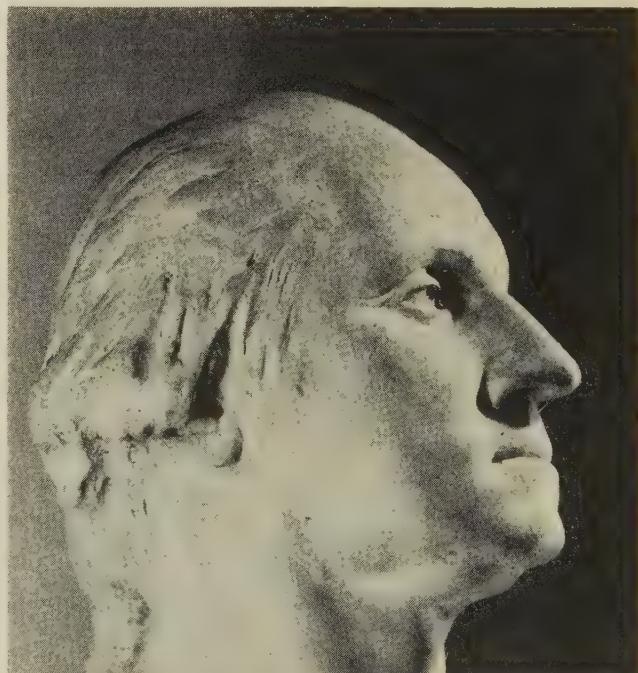


FIG. 12.—HOUDON.—George Washington, coated terra cotta, detail of head from the left.—Mount Vernon, Museum. Photo. Henry B. Beville.

done by Houdon did not pass under the general terms of Washington's will with the Mansion to Bushrod Washington and thus ultimately to Colonel John A. Washington.

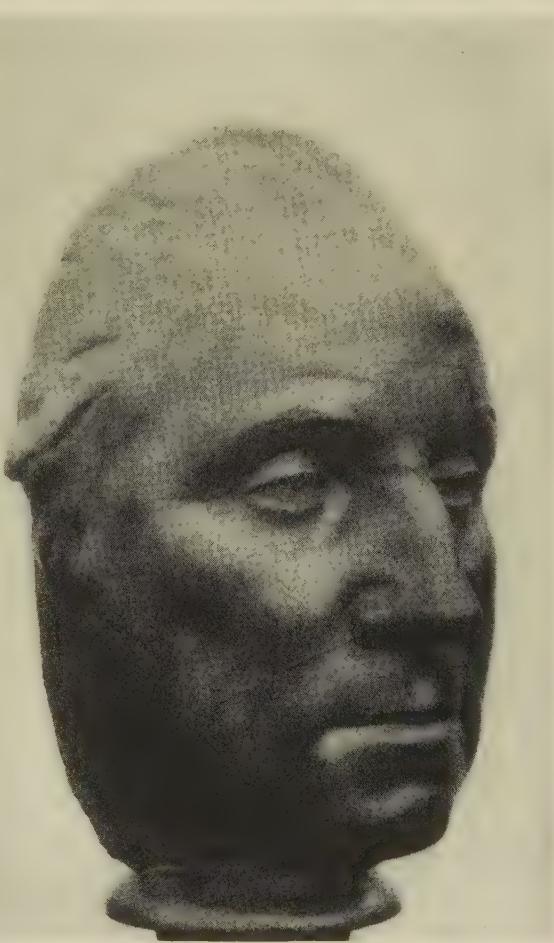
At this point it is possible to pick up the history of the clay bust now under discussion with certainty. It was presented to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association in 1860 by Colonel John A. Washington, and has remained at Mount Vernon to the present.<sup>22</sup>

Such as it is, the evidence can be reduced to the following formula: Since 1) neither the bust here under discussion nor what the family considered to be Houdon's original version is known to have left Mount Vernon, and 2) there is no record of another *Washington* at Mount Vernon to be confused with Houdon's work, it would appear that the identification of the present example with Houdon's original and in turn with the "bust in plaster from the life" of the inventory, is justified. In the last analysis, a decisive factor is not only in the early documents themselves, but in the quality of the sculpture we have before us. Unless one accepts the inferences that it was in fact Houdon's original which Washington had placed in his study by 1787, and that it was still in place there in 1800 and in 1859, it is impossible to explain the presence at Mount Vernon at this time of the bust now under discussion.

\* \* \*

Houdon's *Washington* at Mount Vernon may be roughly dated between October 3 and October 17, 1785. These are the the dates of the sculptor's stay at Mount Vernon. It is probable, however, that the actual modeling was not begun until

FIG. 13. — After HOUDON. — Leutze-Stellwagen mask of Washington's features, coated plaster. — Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. Courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery of Art.



October 6.<sup>23</sup> By October 10, Houdon was already preparing plaster for molding purposes;<sup>24</sup> on October 13, he appears to have taken measurements of Washington's body and, perhaps on October 10, perhaps on October 13, the life mask.<sup>25</sup> The order and rigorous dating of these events have a direct bearing on the artistic problem, as will be seen.

Washington's *Diary* by no means provides a complete account of the sculptor's activity at Mount Vernon and is open on at least one count to ambiguous interpretation: whether Houdon actually used the plaster on October 10, or whether he merely indicated verbally through his interpreter how it should be mixed and used. Because of the detail of Washington's description, however, which precisely and colloquially defines the thickness of the mixture of plaster and water, most critics would doubtless lean toward the assumption that it was actually mixed in Washington's presence.<sup>26</sup> If the plaster was used on October 10, the most likely purpose — the life mask aside — would be for molds of the bust. It is thus possible to suggest that the direct modeling of the bust was finished by October 10, after two, but not more than four days of sittings.<sup>27</sup> On this basis, the bust was what it appears to be today: a fairly rapid study with the freshness of a sketch in the treatment of the hair, built up with care but not with undue overworkings in the handling of the features and structure of the face, neck and chest.

23. J. C. FITZPATRICK, *Diaries*, II, 420: "Friday, (October) 7th. . . . Sat today, as I had done yesterday for Mr. Houdon to form my Bust." Houdon is reported to have said that he studied Washington casually for some time before beginning the bust, finally taking the pose from a glimpse of Washington indignantly tossing his head at the allegations of a horse-dealer whom he believed dishonest. I have found no early source for this story, but it does not appear out of character.

24. *Idem.*, pp. 421-422.

25. Unfortunately, the exact chronological relation of bust to life mask is impossible to fix from documents. CHINARD (*Op. cit.*, p. xvii), interprets the mixing of plaster on October 10 as evidence for the taking of the life mask on that day. There is no clear indication in the source for this inference. The often repeated statement that the mask was taken during Madison's stay at Mount Vernon between the evening of October 12 and the morning of October 14, as recorded in the *Diary* (FITZPATRICK, II, 422-423) is not supported by a primary source either. In correspondence, MR. IRVING BRANT has made it plain that Madison's visit should be interpreted primarily as a casual stop on his way home from a trip to the north providing an occasion, however, to discuss several matters of public importance. There is thus no likelihood that Madison was called specially as a witness to the taking of the life mask. For references to Madison's visit of 1785 and to Houdon, see: IRVING BRANT, *James Madison, the Nationalist* (to be published 1948), pp. 321-322, 338, 370, 376, 389. The basis for the assumption that Madison was present when the life mask was taken appears to be an elaboration of a family tradition picked up by LOSSING in 1858 and published by him in the next year (see note 20 above). According to LOSSING's account Madison was present only when Washington's measurements were taken. However, the mask is discussed in the same paragraph, and it is reasonable to suppose that later writers telescoped the two operations to make Madison a witness to both, finally arriving at the statement that he was present when the mask was taken, disregarding the measurements. One can at least say in their defense that the body measurements and the life mask are related insofar as they concern quantitative data and that neither are indispensable for the bust which could have been made earlier without them. Washington's *Diary* does not mention the life mask or measurements at all; it does state that the rain on October 13 forced a suspension of all outdoor work, leaving Washington less busy than normally. Hard rains and continued dampness between October 11 and October 14 as recorded in the *Diary* were doubtless factors in the firing of the clay model. Sun-drying was out of the question, according to the hypothetical chronology given above.

26. J. C. FITZPATRICK, *Diaries*, II, 421-422.

27. There may well have been only three days available for sittings. October 9 fell on a Sunday. Presumably Washington went to church in the morning; in the afternoon he went with Houdon to a funeral at a neighboring plantation, returning, as the *Diary* states, "to Dinner" (FITZPATRICK, *Diaries*, II, 421).



FIG. 14. — HOUDON. — George Washington, terra cotta. — Louvre, Paris.  
Photo. Giraudon.

unless it is definitely supposed that the life mask was taken before October 13, there would still be only a little under, or a little over, two days available for the bust to be revised, to dry out even partially, to be prepared for firing, be fired and

28. Letter to HUBARD, October 8, 1859. See note 20, above.

29. There is an element of confusion, perhaps to be expected, in technical matters connected with Houdon's visit in the family verbal tradition. G. W. P. CUSTIS, under five years of age in 1785, confused a relief by Wright with Houdon's work in his recollections as has been indicated above, note 17. There is probably no accurate basis either for Custis' statement made late in life that Houdon molded Washington's limbs and body in wax ("Washington Globe," September 14, 1854). LOSSING's statement that the bust was formed from the mask, derived from a similar traditional source, must be treated with the same caution. To be considered in connection with this aspect of the tradition is the early XIX Century predilection for molds from life as an insurance of accuracy of representation (for example, Browere's busts).

Because of Colonel John A. Washington's statement of the Lewis' recollection that the bust was "taken from the mould of the face," it has been assumed that Houdon reworked the features of the bust after the forms recorded in the life mask.<sup>28</sup> I would suggest here that the source is hardly to be trusted in this matter of detail, even though the general statement by the Lewises that Houdon left a life bust at Mount Vernon should be accepted.<sup>29</sup> There are also technical considerations. Houdon left on October 17, to spend the night at Alexandria. Since October 16 fell on a Sunday, it may not have been even a partial working day. Reworking after the life mask necessarily implies that the clay of the bust was still moist. Un-

made up for exhibition on its *piedouche*. The element of time may thus count against the theory of remodeling after the mask, and points insistently toward the earliest feasible date (October 10) for the molding of the bust.

Comparison of photographs of the Pettrick-Story *Life Mask* now in the Pierpont Morgan Library with those of the Mount Vernon bust will not bear out the theory of remodeling after the mask (Figs. 9 and 10). There are, of course, general correspondences; these should be expected if Houdon, as was his custom, used measurements in making the bust. But there are also differences in the area of the mouth and chin, the cheeks and the brows; the eyes for this purpose are not comparable, and the nose of the bust for reasons of restoration must be discounted. To take only such comparable details as the mouth and chin, two kinds of variants from forms in nature are particularly evident in the bust. On the one hand, the line of the lips becomes more complex, less regular, more vital as pure line. On the other hand, the irregularities of the chin in nature are reduced in the bust to a more symmetrical scheme based on segments of a circle and sphere.

Houdon's power of abstraction in sculpture for expressive purposes is apparent here, precisely because he did not remodel the bust after the life mask. The bust and the life mask are two different methods of recording a likeness. There should be no competition between them, and there is no reason to believe that Houdon fused the results of both at Mount Vernon, as fairly recently stated by Eisen and Conrow.<sup>30</sup>

The second theory advanced by Eisen and Conrow that the Leutze-Stell-

30. EISEN AND CONROW, *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

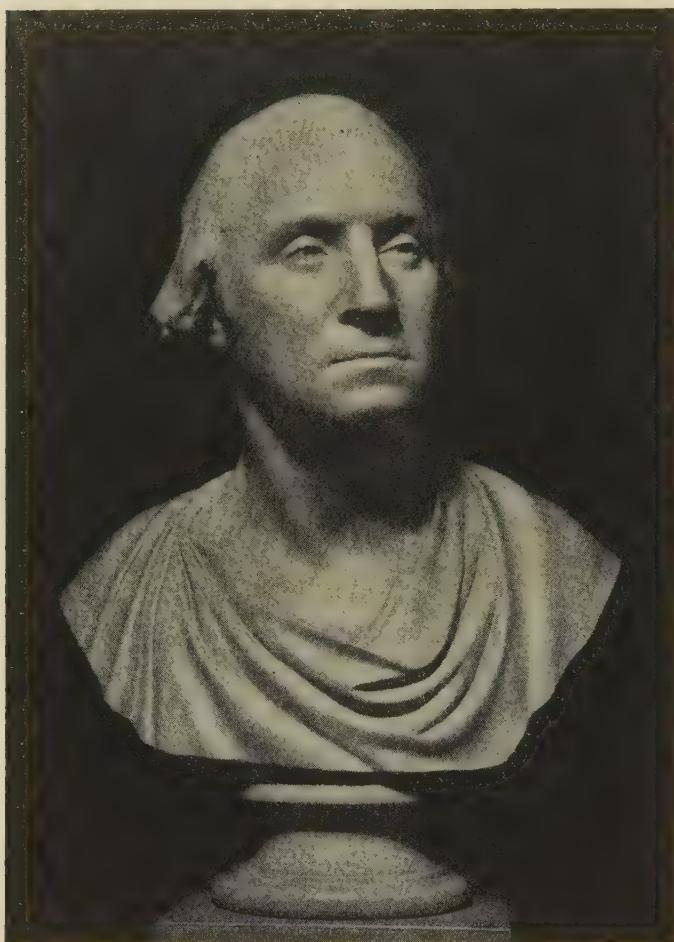


FIG. 15.—Attributed to Houdon (G. M. Miller, adapted after Houdon?),—Hosack "Houdon's Washington—Drapery," coated plaster.—New-York Historical Society. Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.

wagen *Mask* is a cast taken from molds of the face of the bust before it was dry and represents the original appearance of Houdon's clay study of Washington's features, seems to me extremely hazardous. The "mask" in question appears actually to be a cast from carved marble rather than from modeled clay.<sup>31</sup> Comparison between 1) this "mask," 2) the plaster model made by Clark Mills, somewhat retouched after his cast of the Mount Vernon bust and 3) the Mount Vernon bust, reveals a great number of differences which cannot be reconciled (Figs. 11, 12 and 13). Above all, such a comparison, far more than words, again makes clear the quality and energy in Houdon's own touch.

\* \* \*

How much Houdon himself valued his first bust of Washington is still not clear. He himself carried the mold of the life mask back to Paris leaving the molds of the bust to come later with his assistants.<sup>32</sup> Before he left for France he made at least one plaster cast of the Mount Vernon bust, which he presented to Franklin in Philadelphia. The cast was seen there and by the Congress in New York where it was much admired; this cast has since disappeared.<sup>33</sup> In the Salon of 1787 he exhibited a plaster of Wash-

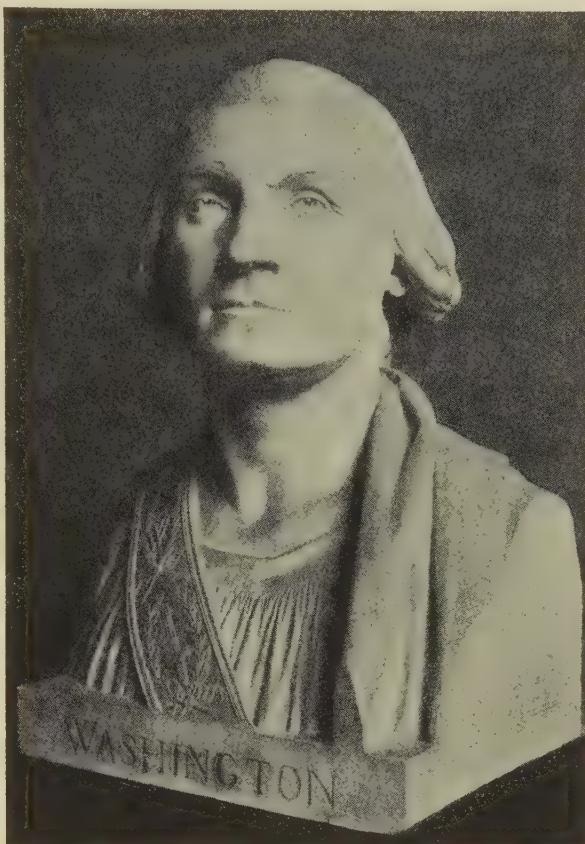


FIG. 16. — Attributed to HOUDON (HOUDON OR ATELIER?). — George Washington, marble. — Versailles. From "Les Arts."

31. *Idem*, pp. 69, 74. The strong probability that the Leutze-Stellwagen *Mask* is derived from a marble is stated by MORGAN AND FIELDING, *Op. cit.*, pp. 97-98; there the authors appear to reject the thesis advanced by EISEN AND CONROW conclusively.

32. JEFFERSON to WASHINGTON, January 4, 1786; LAFAYETTE to WASHINGTON, February 8, 1786 (See: HART AND BIDDLE, *Op. cit.*, p. 206). The "bust" mentioned by Lafayette should be interpreted as the molds of the Mount Vernon bust and possibly a cast taken from those molds.

33. See the letters quoted by HART AND BIDDLE, *Op. cit.*, pp. 204-205. Excerpts from one by FRANCIS HOPKINSON are printed at the head of this article. Another letter from CHARLES THOMSON to JEFFERSON also states that Houdon showed the cast to Congress and includes the comment: "by elevating the chin and countenance he [the artist] has given it the air of one looking forward into futurity." The cast sent to New York had been returned to the Franklins by November 30, 1785. HART AND BIDDLE reported no trace of this cast in 1911 and assumed that because of its fragility it had been broken up and the fragments discarded: *Op. cit.*, p. 205. MORGAN AND FIELDING, *Op. cit.*, p. 100, suggest that the cast might be the bust listed as no. 56 in the exhibit held by the Society of Artists of the United States and the Pennsylvania Academy in Philadelphia in 1812.

ton "fait par l'auteur dans la terre de ce général en Virginie," now apparently lost also.<sup>34</sup> It would appear that at about this time, however, his mind had turned toward a new type which by and large, especially in Europe, supplanted the Mount Vernon version both in general popularity and ultimately in scholarly esteem. The classic example of this new type is the familiar terra cotta bought by Walferdin from the sale of the contents of Houdon's studio in 1828 and left by him to the Louvre (Fig. 14).<sup>35</sup>

The contrast with the Mount Vernon type is striking. The head is set forward, the chin level, the expression a little weary. The features appear to have been largely derived from the life mask with emphasis on the veridic detail of the eyebrows for one example, at the expense of the clean generalized line of the brow as left in the first study. The chest is clothed in toga-like drapery. A heavier Roman dignity replaces the verve and lift of the earlier type. The change is toward a more official, and more "timeless" memorial of a great man's appearance in accordance with the neo-Classical principles which had already taken root in Paris. There should be no reason to confuse this version of Washington's bust-portrait with the original study. It has all the characteristics of an elaboration and represents a distinctly different and, I believe, obviously later phase in Houdon's thinking.

The influence of this second (Louvre) type and the taste to which it corresponds, is evident in subsequent variants at one time or another attributed to Houdon even when there are clear reminiscences of the Mount Vernon type. An example of fusion of taste is the well known *Hosack* bust in the New-York Histori-

34. See: GIACOMETTI, *Op. cit.*, II, 175. The plaster put forth by GIACOMETTI as the "toute première" version appears to be from his description quite a different type from the Mount Vernon bust (*Idem*, p. 177). FRANCES DAVIS WHITMORE (*George Washington in Sculpture*, Boston, 1933, p. 24) confuses the cast which must have been shown at the Salon with the clay original. If the catalogue entry for the Salon of 1787 is taken literally, it can refer only to a cast of the Mount Vernon bust; the fact that it is mentioned in the catalogue as plaster adds weight to the hypothesis that it was the Mount Vernon type which actually was shown. BACHAUMONT in his *Mémoires Secrets* indicates, however, that Houdon was working in December, 1786 on a bust of Washington; this was understood in January, 1787 to be sufficiently advanced to be shown in the Salon of 1787 (quoted by MONTAIGLON AND DUPLESSIS, *Houdon, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages*, in: "Revue Universelle des Arts," I, 1855, pp. 324-325, n.). Criticism of the bust when it was shown at the Salon was unfavorable as a likeness in the opinion of those "qui ont eu le bonheur de voir l'illustre Américain . . ." (quoted by DELEROT AND LEGRELLE, *Mémoire sur la Vie et l'Oeuvre de J.-A. Houdon*, in: "Mémoires de la Société des Sciences Morales, des Lettres et des Arts de Seine-et-Oise," IV, 1857, p. 176). This hardly agrees with the opinion of the Washington family and American friends regarding the likeness in the Mount Vernon bust. There is also the chance that the Salon entry was the head and shoulders of the model for the full-length statue, destined for Richmond. The candidacy of the Mount Vernon type for the Salon entry of 1787 is thus weakened; it remains a possibility only, depending entirely, for the moment, on the interpretation one feels should be given to the written description in the catalogue.

35. For descriptions, see: HART AND BIDDLE, *Op. cit.*, pp. 206-207; GIACOMETTI, *Op. cit.*, II, 175. It is presumably to this terra cotta that FLORENCE INGERSOLL SMOUSE refers as a plaster in her article *Houdon en Amérique*, in: "Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne," XXXV, 1914, p. 284. GIACOMETTI notes that the Louvre example shows traces of casting and that the date is unclear, reading "177." followed by an "8" or "9." The Tuck marble in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which follows the Louvre type is dated 1778. Perhaps this impossible date represents a transposition of digits which if re-shuffled would give a date of 1787 for the original of the Louvre type. See: "Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts," XXII, 1924, p. 17.

cal Society (Fig. 15).<sup>36</sup> Among examples of established European origin, the Louvre and Mount Vernon types are even more clearly brought together in such an "official" version as the marble in Versailles, dated 1801 (Fig. 16). Here not only differing forms result from differing techniques, but there is also apparent a hardening, a kind of sclerosis, which makes a startling contrast with the dynamic rhythms of the Mount Vernon original. Both the fact of the survival of the Mount Vernon type in this late example, and the manner of its survival are noteworthy.<sup>37</sup>

I do not propose here to enter further into the problems of versions and variants. But it should hardly be necessary to emphasize that the bust at Mount Vernon represents a basic source for classification of the tremendous number of busts

of Washington to which the name of Houdon or his atelier has been attached. It is worth stressing that the Mount Vernon bust is a good deal more than a study for subsequent works of art. It represents a significant "moment" at mid-career in Houdon's approach to the problem of portraiture in sculpture. It also offers an unparalleled opportunity for close comparative observation. Where else in Houdon's existing work is it possible to study the forms of an original clay model from the life in connection with analogous forms in nature recorded contemporaneously

36. See the careful note in: MORGAN AND FIELDING, *Op. cit.*, p. 100. The bust can be traced as far back as 1812 in Philadelphia, the drapery added by G. M. Miller of Philadelphia. The early catalogue notice quoted by MORGAN AND FIELDING can be read to mean that the entire bust was put together by Miller, using a cast or copy after Houdon for the head.

37. GIACOMETTI, *Op. cit.*, II, 178, as a "redite," with no indication, however, of the bust it "repeats." See also for related use of Antique costume with motive of uplifted head, Houdon's busts of Barnave and Henry of Prussia. The Stockholm *Washington* appears to preserve the head-type of the Louvre example with the bare chest of the Mount Vernon type: still another important example of development by "hybridization."

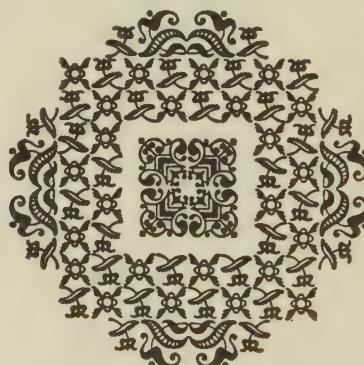


FIG. 17. — HOUDON. — Madame Houdon, plaster. — Louvre, Paris.  
Photo. Giraudon.

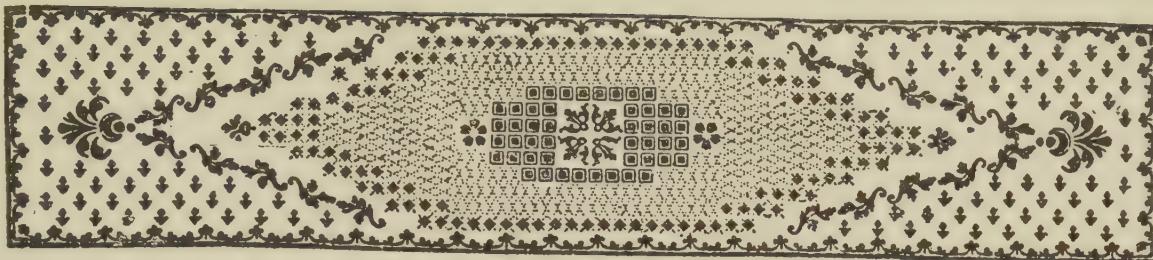
in a life mask, together with so numerous an array of later variants in clay, plaster and marble? As a document for the understanding of a great artist's style, the clay model is hardly less important than as a document of social history. Actually, for a biographer of Washington as well as of Houdon there should be no little interest in comparing the subsequent transformations of the portrait-type in Europe with the obvious impact of the sitter's personality when first portrayed immediately and from the life at Mount Vernon.

The bust at Mount Vernon, despite its aloofness of pose, is a relatively intimate and personal interpretation of character. It is a transposition into a semi-heroic mode of the same qualities of directness, economy, honesty and delight in human nature to be found in Houdon's portraits of his immediate family, beginning, very soon after his visit to Mount Vernon, with the masterpiece which records the features and personality of his wife (Fig. 17).<sup>38</sup> The styles of the two portraits are actually less dissimilar than might appear at first glance. They are alike in the crispness and strength of modeling in the features with relatively free handling of the hair; the relation of head to torso; the use of a twist and angle in the setting of the head with movement of the eyes to suggest vitality. This relationship is evident as the Mount Vernon bust stands today; if the present surface were cleaned, admittedly at the expense of emphasizing the very few passages of modern restoration, the original quality of modeling and brilliance of detail might be even more striking.

CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR.



<sup>38.</sup> Plaster in the Louvre; a slightly differing terra cotta now in the possession of Miss Helen C. Frick, New York City. PAUL VITRY dated the composition as of 1786 and suggested that the Louvre plaster was the one exhibited by Houdon in the Salon of 1787 under the title: *Tête de Jeune Fille (Houdon, Portraitiste de sa Femme et de ses Enfants)*, in: "Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne," XIX, 1906, pp. 340-346). For a clear and conveniently available reproduction of the terra cotta example and for newly published documents dealing with Madame Houdon and Houdon's marriage, see: HELEN C. FRICK, *Madame Jean-Antoine Houdon*, in: "Art Bulletin," XXIX, 1947, pp. 207-212.



## A FRENCH PRIEST, PAINTER AND ARCHITECT IN THE UNITED STATES:

# JOSEPH-PIERRE PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE

**K**NOWN to scholars of the history of the Counter-Revolution in France as a leader in Brittany and La Vendée, to students of Church history as *un saint missionnaire*, Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière and his short career as an artist both in France and the United States, have been overlooked. I have located neither his names, nor his aliases in lists of French or American painters in miniature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. I am indebted to MR. THOMAS HEYWARD GIGNILLIAT, of Savannah, Georgia (owner of the miniature of Mr. Heyward) and to MRS. MARMADUKE H. FLOYD, also of Savannah (a connection of the painter-priest, who had long sought examples of his work) for making it possible for me to begin to piece together the different periods in this artist's eventful career. Through this fortunate coincidence and the references to accounts of his revolutionary activities in CHATEAUBRIAND and LENOTRE (which MRS. FLOYD gave me) Picot de Clorivière's name was first listed, as an artist only, in a catalogue of miniatures being compiled at the Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston, S. C., in 1936; I included a brief notice in a manuscript on *South Carolina Miniatures* which I prepared for publication by the Carolina Art Association; this work was not issued. To SISTER JANE FRANCES LEIBELL, of the Convent of the Visitation, Washington, D. C., I am indebted for the silhouette of M. de Clorivière, for calling to my attention the notice in ANNE ROYALL'S *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States*, and for transcribing the inscription on the priest-artist's tomb.

Had it not been for the Revolution, the career of de Limoëlan doubtless would have followed the traditional one for an officer and a member of the *petite noblesse* — garrison and court duty with periods of residence on his estates. In youth he must have looked forward to as serene a future as any gentleman of his time. The actualities were to be far different and the young *fiancé* of 1800 was to die twenty-six years later in a foreign country, as priest and confessor to the Convent of the Visitation in Georgetown, District of Columbia, America, where he was venerated as the second father-founder, with miracles of intercession credited to his prayers.<sup>2</sup>

Born at Broons,<sup>3</sup> on November 4, 1768, to a “*noble famille de Bretagne*,”<sup>4</sup> the nephew and godson of the great Jesuit, de Clorivière, Joseph-Pierre was educated at the College of Rennes, where he shared a room with Marceau and Chateaubriand. The latter noted in his *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*<sup>5</sup> that there, though “*l'éducation fût très religieuse*,” it did not preclude many pranks; for one of these, instigated by Limoëlan and at which he “. . . *d'étouffer de rire*,” all were imprisoned. This light-hearted youth was to become, according to Chateaubriand, “*le terrible auteur de la machine infernale, [qui] jouant cette niche de polisson à un préfet de collège, rappelle en petit Cromwell barbouillant d'encre la figure d'un autre régicide, qui signait après lui l'arrêt de mort de Charles Ier.*” And Chateaubriand added: “*On a rarement trouvé à la même époque, dans une même province, dans une même petite ville, dans une même maison d'éducation, des destinées aussi singulières.*”<sup>6</sup>

In 1783 at the age of fifteen, well educated and accomplished, de Limoëlan entered the army and at the outbreak of the Revolution was an officer in the Guards,<sup>7</sup> and an ardent royalist, as well as a daring and able soldier. With many others he fled to Jersey, returning to Brittany where he was active in royalist circles and a leader of the Chouans under Cadoudal.<sup>8</sup> He refused to sign the Concordat and in 1799 or 1800, he was resident in Paris, attempting to put his papers in order. On December 3 of that year he wrote the authorities: “Although I have not been treated in a manner to inspire on my part great confidence in the government, since my name is still on the list of emigres, and this despite positive promises

2. GEORGE P. LATHROP AND ROSE HAWTHORNE, *Annals of the Georgetown Convent of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, Cambridge, 1894, pp. 229-234; 238.

3. CHATEAUBRIAND, *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, ED. by EDMOND BIRÉ, Paris, Garnier Frères, vol. I, Livre II, p. 110; GUILDAY (see below), in *The Life and Times of John England First Bishop of Charleston*, p. 153, says de Limoëlan was born at Nantes.

4. C. DE LAROCHE-HERON, *Les Bretons à l'Etranger, L'Abbé de Clorivière (Etudes Biographiques)*, p. 348, in: “*Revue de Bretagne et de la Vendée*,” vol. III, Nantes, 1860.

5. CHATEAUBRIAND, *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

6. *Ibid.*

7. PETER KEENAN GUILDAY, *The Life and Times of John England First Bishop of Charleston*, New York, 1927, p. 153.

8. PROSPER JEAN LEVOT, *Biographie Bretonne*, vol. II, Paris, 1857: *Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière*, p. 342.



FIG. 1.—Convent of the Visitation, Georgetown, District of Columbia.—Frontispiece of ANNE ROYALL's book: *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States*.

which had been made to me, still I am not fool enough to ignore the strength of the government and to conspire against it. I assure you, Citizen Minister, that I long for nothing short of perfect quiet and that I remain in Paris only because I fear not to enjoy tranquillity in Brittany."<sup>9</sup> Limoëlan was now thirty-two years old, distinguished, and on the eve of marriage to "une charmante personne de Versailles, *Mlle. Julie d'Albert*, à laquelle il était fiancé depuis plusieurs années."<sup>10</sup> He later said the day had been set and the wedding cake and wine had been provided.<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to decide if he referred to a date put off because of the outbreak of the Revolution, or a date set on his return to Paris.

It is at this period, during the early days of the Consulate, that the most spectacular single event in Limoëlan's career took place—on Christmas Eve, in 1800. Accounts of the dreadful episode differ in details of time, place and motivation as many of the *dossiers* and *mémoires* on which records are based were written years after the events occurred and their veracity depends on the recollection of the narrator; in addition, the political complexion of the individuals must be taken into consideration. The extent of Limoëlan's responsibility in the plot of the 3 *Nivôse* will never be clearly settled, but he undoubtedly was one of the chief agents in that attempt on the life of Bonaparte.

9. PIERRE MARIQUE, *Joseph-Picot Limoëlan de la Clorivière*, in: "U. S. Catholic Historical Society's Historical Records and Studies," vol. VIII (1915), p. 197.

10. LAROCHE-HERON, *Op. cit.*, p. 349.

11. LATHROP AND HAWTHORNE, *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

As has been said, Chateaubriand considered him the instigator, and Lenotre says Limoëlan, who "*conspire comme tout le monde*,"<sup>12</sup> had come to Paris especially to attempt ambush and assassination. It was this view of the matter that Sainte-Beuve adopted when, in *Volupté*,<sup>13</sup> under a slight disguise, he named Limoëlan *un grand pénitent*. Madame de Chappedelaine, Limoëlan's sister, publicly denied both of these roles and gave her account of the affair in a letter to a journal about 1840. She averred that as "*Soeur de Limoëlan, Monsieur, et vivant assez retirée du monde, l'obligeance d'un ami m'a fait seule apprendre que M. de Sainte-Beuve, écrivain du temps, s'est occupé de mon frère, et qu'ayant, à ce qu'il paraît, besoin, pour son livre, d'un grand pénitent, il avait supposé que Limoëlan, impliqué en 1800 dans l'affaire du 3 Nivôse, était celui auquel il pouvait, sans conséquence, en faire jouer le rôle. A cet effet, il le produit dans le livre intitulé Volupté comme un des officiers de Georges qui avaient dirigé le coup forcené de Nivôse, et il le fait auteur d'une lettre que j'affirme que mon frère n'a jamais écrit, ni à moi ni à personne, car il n'a jamais eu les sentiments qui y sont exprimés; il ne s'est jamais accusé de lâchetés qu'il n'a point commises, et n'a eu garde d'en faire pénitence à la manière d'un Bonze, comme M. de Sainte-Beuve le lui fait raconter; comme il n'a jamais été non plus dans aucun monastère, ni à Lisbonne, ni en aucun lieu du monde.*

"*M. de Sainte-Beuve semble avoir pris pour règle de ses opinions sur l'affaire du 3 Nivôse le procès où Limoëlan est chargé sans aucun égard pour la vérité, ce qui n'est pas étonnant, puisqu'il était le seul accusé qui ne fut pas présent. Il était naturel que ceux qui étaient présents le chargeassent pour se faire innocentier. C'est ainsi que cette procédure contient sur Limoëlan des choses de toute fausseté. L'affaire du 3 Nivôse n'était point son affaire. S'il s'y trouva mêlé, c'est que, par ordre du général Georges, dont il était le major-général, il avait dû fournir à Saint-Régeant les fonds dont il avait besoin et les connaissances qui lui manquaient à Paris, où Saint-Régeant n'était jamais venu que cette fois, avec la volonté de se dévouer à la perte de Bonaparte, qui ne lui apparaissait, non plus qu'à mon frère, que comme un usurpateur des droits qu'il ne reconnaissait qu'au roi légitime. Limoëlan qui, comme Georges et Saint-Régeant, n'avait point signé la pacification de l'Ouest, regarda, à tort ou à raison, l'explosion de la machine infernale comme une embuscade que l'on tend à l'ennemi en temps de guerre, ou comme une mine qu'on fait sauter pour prendre une place; mais, je puis l'affirmer avec vérité, ce ne fut pas le moyen de son choix, ce ne fut jamais lui qui dut y mettre le feu ni la conduire. . . . S'il était alors peu loin de la scène, c'était pour en diriger le dénouement dans le sens royaliste, de manière que, Bonaparte mort, Louis XVIII fut proclamé roi. La chose lui semblait infaillible; tout ce qu'il fit lui sembla du dé-*

12. G. LENOTRE, *Vieilles Maisons, Vieux Papiers*, Paris, 1910, p. 196.

13. SAINTE-BEUVÉ, *Volupté*, Paris, 1845, note at end of volume.



FIG. 2. — Portrait of The Most Reverend John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore, stipple engraving after J. P. Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière. — Bonaparte Patterson Collection, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.

vouement à celui qu'il servait comme militaire depuis l'âge de quinze ans.”<sup>14</sup>

Whatever the extent of Limoëlan's culpability, the attempt on the life of the First Consul, made as he drove in state to the Opera on the Rue de la Loi to hear Haydn's *Saul*, failed. Despite the fact that there was no Christmas Eve mass, people were celebrating, and in the delayed explosion (touched off after Napoleon's coach had passed by) the carnage was so great that witnesses could not say what had happened. There were many arrests — but the three agents who, dressed as “charretiers,” had prepared the “futaille pleine de poudre on the Rue St. Nicaise près de la Place du Carrousel,” were only wounded, and found temporary asylum. Carbon (dit *Petit François*), an old servant, was apprehended on January 18, 1801; Robinault St. Regeant (alias *Pierrot* and *St. Martin*, an old soldier and Chouan) at a later date. Both blamed Limoëlan — but on April 1, both were condemned to die.

Immediately after the explosion and before the hue and cry after him

commenced, Limoëlan was not in hiding but by a lady of St. Malo, Mme. Magon de la Ballue, widow of the banker to the Royal family. However, with the accomplices taken, pursuit became pressing and the young man disappeared from sight; some thought that he had died, others that he had done away with himself. But the search continued. The *jeune élégant* was thus described by the police: “Picot de Limoëlan, dit Beaumont, dit Pour le Roi, l'un des auteurs de l'attentat du 3 Nivôse, âgé de trente-quatre à trente-cinq ans, taille de cinq pieds et deux à trois pouces, cheveux blonds, sourcils châtais, yeux

14. LEVOT, *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

bleux, cheveux à la *Titus*; nez long, arqué au milieu, un peu aquilin; assez bien fait, peau blanche, figure effilée, vue très basse, mince de corps, élancé sans être maigre; joli homme, bonne tournure; bien costumé, linge très propre, chapeau rond et des bottes." Another description added: "*Menton à la faussette*," and that he was so near-sighted that he always wore glasses.<sup>15</sup>

It is doubtful if the sought-for individual appeared a handsome dandy when, at the end of April, after four months in hiding in the abandoned foundations of the Church of Saint-Laurent (a refuge found by his uncle the Abbé), he betook himself to Brittany. Opinion is divided whether he went disguised or undisguised. Lenotre says the latter, and that from pious he went to devout, being convinced God would protect him. Possibly as a result of these sentiments, or as a result of the exertions of his uncle and fiancée, he eventually reached the ancestral residence then owned by his brother-in-law, M. de Chappedelaine, who was residing there with his bride. It was from there that Limoëlan left France. "*Il était temps car les fouilles se succédaient au château de Limoëlan, et si jusque là elles avaient été infructueuses, c'est que Mme. de Chappedelaine, comme jeune mariée, trouvait des prétextes pour empêcher de commencer les perquisitions par sa chambre, devenue le seul asile de son frère, qui, d'un moment à l'autre, pouvait être découvert. Toutefois, avant de s'éloigner, il écrivit à la famille de sa fiancée pour proposer à cette jeune personne de passer en Amérique, où ils célébreraient leur mariage, et, dans le cas contraire, pour lui rendre sa parole. La demoiselle répondit qu'au moment où Limoëlan courait les plus grands dangers, elle avait, en priant pour lui, fait voeu de célibat, s'il parvenait à se sauver, qu'en conséquence, elle n'épouserait jamais personne. C'est alors que Limoëlan se décida, de son côté à ne jamais se marier et à entrer dans les ordres...*"<sup>16</sup>

Here again accounts differ in detail. Lenotre says Limoëlan, in comparative safety in Brittany, heard of his fiancée's vow to take the veil. Chateaubriand avers that he escaped through Mlle. d'Albert's assistance and upon his arrival in New York wrote for her to join him and that "*La réponse fut terrible pour Limoëlan*,"<sup>17</sup> which one can well believe, and from this time on he had "*l'air inquiet de quelqu'un qu'on poursuit*."<sup>18</sup>

\* \* \*

In America, for the years 1803 to 1807, little is known of the life and circumstances of de Clorivière, as he now called himself.

He sailed from France with the de Chappedelaines under the name of Guity, in the character of servant or mariner, and landed in New York or Balti-

15. LENOTRE, *Op. cit.*, p. 195, note.

16. LEVOT, *Op. cit.*, p. 342.

17. CHATEAUBRIAND, *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

18. LENOTRE, *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

more in 1803; probably he went with his relatives to Savannah, Georgia, where they had business to attend to. During this time he worked professionally as a painter, an accomplishment of his youth heretofore put to use in Paris where "*devenu peintre pendant les détresses révolutionnaires*" he produced the "*méchante miniature*"<sup>19</sup> of Lucille de Chateaubriand, and probably likenesses of his fiancée, his mother and sisters whom he saw frequently at Versailles.

These must have been sad and difficult months and years. Memories of the great disaster which had been a crisis in his political life, and great personal loss and sorrow haunted him, and in considerable mental agony he was determining to enter the priesthood. He is said to have written to his sister: "The Angel who was

the instrument of my conversion has shown me the path I ought to follow, and to justify myself for not having followed it sooner I can but say that I did not believe I was worthy of that mercy."<sup>20</sup>

At the age of thirty-nine, de Clorivière, after this extraordinary career, entered the Sulpician Seminary of St. Mary's in Baltimore and received the tonsure, Careme, 1807.<sup>21</sup> About the elderly student at St. Mary's grew the legend that he was a Bourbon.<sup>22</sup> His real identity and complicity in events of magnitude were known but to his superiors and Monsignor Brute. At this period, during the blockade, he inscribed an envelope of one of his letters to France: "Oh, Englishmen, let this letter pass; it is from a man who has done and suffered much for your cause!!!"<sup>23</sup>

FIG. 3. — J. P. PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE. — Portrait of Mrs. Nathaniel Greene (Catherine Littlefield), Miniature, Signed: *Picot 1805.* — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière was ordained priest by Archbishop Carroll, at St. Mary's, Baltimore, in 1812.<sup>24</sup> After difficulties as a student (for the course of application to books after years in the field proved arduous), the man of forty-four, with a military and aristocratic background, was assigned to the parish of St. Mary's, Charleston, South Carolina — hardly a happy spot for one of his temper, training and political background, when the turbulent congregation was torn by every sort of dissension.

The ex-officer and recent seminarian found his new career as a parish priest beset with difficulties. Incipient and open quarrels raged in the church between

19. CHATEAUBRIAND, *Op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

20. PHOEBE M. REES, *Sanctuary, A Play for Women in One Act*, London, p. 3.

21. LENOTRE, *Op. cit.*, p. 220. *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice, Baltimore, Maryland*, Baltimore, 1891, p. 50.

22. LENOTRE, *Op. cit.* p. 218.

23. MARIQUE, *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

24. *Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary*, *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

former rectors, congregation, and vestry; the new incumbent not only inherited troubles, but was the focal point for additional splits. Nationalism and politics further complicated matters — Irish versus French elements, and Democrats versus Federalists. In a poor parish with a small congregation such conditions meant chaos and successive crises. A major one came in June 1814 when de Clorivière “*chanta publiquement le Te Deum, quand il apprit la chute de cet homme qui, lors de l'affaire du 3 Nivôse, ne pouvait être appelé l'oint du Seigneur, puisque, en 1800, il ne faisait encore que préluder à une usurpation qu'il réussit ensuite à faire bénir par le Pape.*”<sup>25</sup>

His congregation was outraged. He ran through the streets shouting: “*Vive le Roi.*” There were threats to hang him, attempts to shoot him,<sup>26</sup> and he was given police protection.<sup>27</sup> By the fall of 1814 de Clorivière had decided to revisit France and his *exeat*, dated November 3, accompanied a letter from Archbishop Carroll saying: “I was favored yesterday with your esteemed, but to me very painful, favor of Oct. 27, from which it appears that contrary to my hopes and partly to my expectation your departure for France will be earlier than you once insinuated. I should have cause to regret it at any time . . . but it would be cruel to withhold my assent to your reasons, and the call of such friends as you have left in Europe.

.”<sup>28</sup>

Of this trip his sister wrote: “*Revint en France en 1815, et y reçut, de tous ceux qu'il avait connus, l'accueil le plus flatteur et le plus honorable; et, s'il quitta ce pays, ce fut dans la pensée d'être plus utile comme prêtre catholique aux Etats-Unis qu'en France, de s'isoler de ses anciens amis et de ses souvenirs, afin de remplacer tout à fait et pour toujours, les vues terrestres de l'homme du monde par des sacrifices et des travaux dont le but fût l'éternité.*”<sup>29</sup>

In April 1815 de Clorivière was in London and by November 28, 1815 he had returned to Charleston.<sup>30</sup> During the interval of his absence, Archbishop Carroll had died and during the short episcopate (1815-1817) of his successor, Neale, the Charleston Congregation reached an open state of rebellion which lasted until 1820. Among the troubles were disputes over the vestry elections; over the duties and powers of the rector and the archbishop; there were appeals direct to Rome; an ex-rector broke into the vestry when de Clorivière was hearing confession; de Clorivière was accused of using “such abusive language” to the Rev. Mr. Brown that it caused him “severe indisposition.”<sup>31</sup> By the end of 1817 the congregation was in a distracted state and de Clorivière had become so discouraged that he thought

25. LEVOT, *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

26. LENOTRE, *Op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

27. PETER KEENAN GUILDAY, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, New York, 1922, p. 743.

28. GUILDAY, . . . *John England . . . , Op. cit.*, p. 155.

29. LEVOT, *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

30. “The Charleston Courier,” Nov. 28, 1815.

31. GUILDAY, . . . *John England . . . , Op. cit.*, p. 187.

again of leaving the charge. In 1816 he had written Archbishop Neale: "A thing I wish your Lordship would understand, is that although these three or four, let us say, six, enemies of mine in this Congregation are all great democrats, and although my political opinions are the apparent subject of their opposition to me, I do not believe that it is the real one, for Dr. Gallagher, their friend, is no Democrat at all, and amongst mine I can count many of a different opinion than mine in politics. Besides, I am by no means a politician, nor so much carried by party spirit, that I will communicate my thoughts on this subject to everyone; far from this, I have very little occasion to speak politics in this place, and I do not trouble myself at all about it. The real cause, I think of their dislike, is that I am more scrupulous in many things than the Doctor has been for twenty years, and endeavor to bring them to things they will not come to. . . ."<sup>32</sup>

He also renewed his petition "in behalf of the most religious part of this Congregation to permit me to open a new Chapel and to exert in it *all* pastoral functions over those who will become members of it, and particularly my own Countrymen (though there is no need perhaps of designation)." He added: "I would put this new Congregation under the auspices and name of St. Mary of whom I have a neat picture, fit for an altarpiece, given me by the Jesuits in Paris, in order, say they, that it preaches for them or instead of them."<sup>33</sup> This chapel was "to give some consolation to my friends in behalf of whom only I am moved to stay here: for, My Lord, for myself, I expect much more comforts of all kinds, in the island of Martinique, where I am now resolved to go, if you do not authorize and support me here."<sup>34</sup> However, he did not build this chapel, but said mass in an oratory or rooms.<sup>35</sup>

The quarrels, so open and so serious, caused the suspension of both Gallagher

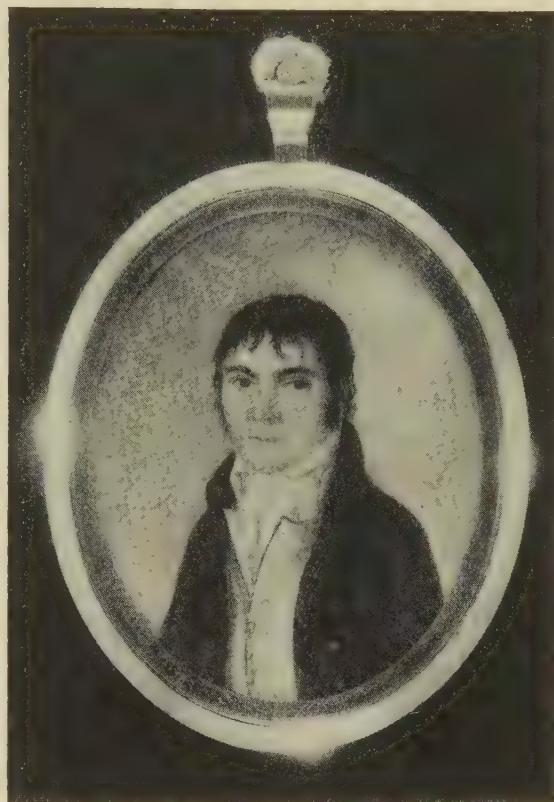


FIG. 4.—J. P. PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE.—Portrait of Mr. Heyward, miniature, signed: *Clorivieres Ppt.* — Thomas Heyward Gignilliat Collection, Savannah, Georgia.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

and Brown, and St. Mary's was closed by interdict. Archbishop Marechal on January 9, 1818 wrote to the Congregation:

"After an attentive perusal of your petition, I observed, that the substance of it consists, in requesting me to remove the Rev. Mr. Clorivière from Charleston. Although I have for this worthy clergyman the same sentiments of consideration and respect the illustrious Archbishop Carroll, and his venerable successor, Archbishop Neale, have both constantly entertained for him to their last breath, yet if by his removal, I could conceive a grounded hope, of seeing an end put to the afflicting scenes, the congregation of Charleston has these two years past, exhibited to their Catholic brethren in the United States, I would not hesitate for a moment to withdraw him from the post he now occupies, and assign him to another. I know his great piety, and I am sure he would immediately obey my order; but before I ever take such a measure, I must have some certainty that it will lead to the establishment of the reign of peace and religion in your city, otherwise my compliance with your request would have no other effect but the increase of the evil. Let us suppose I should now withdraw the Rev. Mr. Clorivière from Charleston, who would then take care of his faithful and pious flock?"<sup>36</sup>

Fathers Fenwick and Wallace, S. J., were sent down to Charleston by the Archbishop to try to settle the affair and the former wrote: "The greatest joy apparently prevails amongst every description of persons on our arrival. All seem anxious to have the unfortunate differences terminate. I have adopted and shall continue a plan of reconciliation suggested by Mr. Clorivière, which I cannot but deem highly proper, as it manifests a disposition to discontinue in a marked and decided manner the unwarranted proceedings of the actual trustees in the full rejection of the ground they seem to have taken."<sup>37</sup> Later he wrote: "In my last communication, I acquainted you with the method I had determined to pursue in effecting a reconciliation and my fixed resolution not to make any advances which might be construed by the vestry into a triumph over the true and faithful flock and especially over you, their lawful bishop. I am happy to inform you that my plan has completely succeeded, and things have been conducted and arranged, I trust, in such a manner as cannot but give you pleasure. . . ." The trustees reversed themselves, but de Clorivière was to go, for Fenwick told them "he had always understood . . . that [de Clorivière] was to leave the city as soon as he could arrange his affairs and that they need not be under any apprehension on this point."<sup>38</sup>

Father Clorivière felt that he had not come out of the unpleasantness with honor. Fenwick had found the French priest "a worthy and pious man" and one deserving of the highest respect but he feared that "under the existing circum-

36. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 255.



FIG. 5.—J. P. PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE.—Portrait of Mrs. Hill (Maria Sanchez), miniature, signed: P.—Carolina Art Association, Gibbes Memorial Art Gallery, Charleston, S. C.

quest, he disembarked.

De Clorivière arrived in Georgetown on January 19, 1819,<sup>40</sup> and there he was to spend the only tranquil years of his eventful adult life.<sup>41</sup> "He had not intended to take back with him to France the altar ornaments and vestments he had brought from there but, on changing his destination, he changed his mind in regard to their removal. The ladies of his Charleston Congregation insisted upon his carrying everything to Georgetown, and helped him to pack altar linen, vestments, cruets, crucifixes, altar bells, two gilt expositions, ornaments for the Repository in Holy Week, several paintings made by a lady of the Congregation, and his whole library, containing valuable ascetic treatises."<sup>42</sup>

stances, he will want that prudence the crisis requires by inflaming the minds of his respectable flock, telling them that they will be insulted, trampled under foot by the Vestry, and never respected. . . . I therefore most seriously think, the sooner he leaves this city the better; there will never be a perfect peace and harmony so long as he remains." These sentiments were shared by Father Wallace who wrote to the Archbishop that peace could not be restored until Father Clorivière had departed.

At this point of his career, when about to return again to France, his trunks already aboard a vessel, he received an appointment as Director of the Convent of the Visitation in Georgetown,<sup>39</sup> District of Columbia, and acceding to the Archbishop's re-

39. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 257, note 26.

41. CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, New York, 1916, p. 82.

42. LATHROP AND HAWTHORNE, *Op. cit.*, pp. 199-201.



FIG. 6.—J. P. PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE.—Portrait of Thomas Mendenhall, miniature, signed: *Picot*.—Thomas M. Finucan Collection, Summerville, S. C.

De Clorivière's arrival coincided with a crucial moment in the life of the community which was in such grave difficulties that dispersion was thought of. Fortunately for them, the new director (though worn with struggles, fatigues, perils and anxieties of his active career on battlefields, in exile and in the churchly fold) was a man of great energy and considerable experience who turned his abilities to restoring the Convent to the practice of the Rules and Constitutions of the Order, as also the customs and ceremonies, to the improvement of the music, to raising the standard of education in the convent school (teaching French himself) and thereby increasing the attendance. He inaugurated a free school already planned, but not organized.

In 1829 de Clorivière finally realized the wish he had not been able to indulge in Charleston — the building of a chapel. On July 11, the earth was turned and the first Church of the Sacred Heart in the United States was commenced. This building (erected with funds realized by the sale of de Clorivière's estate in Brittany, and from the pension paid to him annually by France for past military service and a wound received in battle)<sup>43</sup> was dedicated on the feast of All Saints in October, 1821, though the steeple was not completed until some months later. De Clorivière is said to have been his own architect.<sup>44</sup> The simple attempts at Gothic may reflect not only his memories of France, but more probably the influence of a fellow Frenchman and ex-officer, Maximilian Godefroy, the architect and engineer who was teaching drawing at St. Mary's Seminary when de Clorivière was studying in Baltimore. His delightful neo-Gothic chapel on the grounds of the old seminary on Paca Street, is one of the earliest and most perfect small buildings of its kind in the country — *M. le Directeur's* chapel was not even a shadow of it. The façade of the Georgetown chapel showed neo-Classic columns and pediment; within, it was decorated with simple frescoes and the altarpiece (between the pointed windows) represented the scene of *Mary and Martha*. This had been given to Father de Clorivière by Charles X, who had ordered it

43. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

44. Sister Jane Frances Leibell, Convent of the Visitation, Georgetown, D. C.

painted for the purpose. Above it, set in the circular transparent window in the pediment, was a picture of the *Sacred Heart*, painted and donated by a lady from Charleston.

The chapel was succeeded by other buildings also designed by the priest-architect. They included spacious and conveniently arranged parlors, dormitories and a refectory. An early account of the edifice says: "The site of the monastery is in the northwest part of the town. It stands upon the borders of 'the heights,' and commands a pleasant view of the Potomac . . . and also the cultivated fields and lawns on its western bank. The enclosure embraces about one acre. On the north side, is the Academy . . . consisting of a long range of buildings, three stories high. In the middle of the front or eastern side stands the Chapel. On the left of the Chapel is the room of the Father Confessor, and also the private apartments of the nuns, into which no unhallowed tread of the wordly and profane is ever admitted."<sup>45</sup>

At about the time of de Clorivière's death the school had some one hundred and fifty boarding scholars and a free or charity school of a much larger number of day scholars. The members of the community numbered about sixty. Apparently the system of education was on the French plan and an American visitor in 1829 said: "What strikes the visitor with most pleasure is the perfect system and order with which everything is done. All is perfect clockwork. The young misses who compose the school are regularly and rigidly trained to do everything on plan and method. . . . In one respect I was much disappointed. Instead of finding in the Convent a set of rigid, austere female ascetics, I met with cheerfulness approaching to vivacity — with kindness the most engaging; and with politeness the most natural and unaffected."<sup>46</sup>

In this year, 1823, the redoubtable Anne Royall visited the convent and noted: "At the upper end of the building, I found the Father Superior, Rev. J. P. de



FIG. 7.—J. P. PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE.—Portrait of Andrew Greene Simpsons Semmes (1781-1833), of Charles County, Maryland, and Wilkes County, Georgia, miniature.—Mrs. Clayton Torrence Collection, Richmond, Va.

45. "The Southern Patriot" (Charleston, S. C.), June 11, 1829.

46. *Ibid.*

Clorivière, who is a French nobleman; he is about sixty years of age, of middling height, and spare make, and dressed in the simplest manner. I found him very affable and communicative; . . .”<sup>47</sup>

Clorivière's ability and acumen in affairs worldly, combined with his vivacity and charm, the legends of his past, and great piety and devoutness, made him deeply venerated in his own lifetime. He was the author of voluminous *Mémoires* but “. . . *l'Abbé de Clorivière avait ordonné par son testament de bruler les volumineux cahiers de mémoires qu'il avait écrits sur les évènements auxquels il avait pris, en France, une part si active. Cette clause a été fidèlement observée à sa mort, et on doit le regretter vivement pour l'histoire. . . . Il disait qu'arrivé à la fin de la relation de chaque année, il cachetait le rebut de l'année et ne l'ouvrait plus, ajoutant que ces cahiers contenaient beaucoup de faits intéressants et importants pour l'histoire et la religion.*”<sup>48</sup> Perhaps destroying these autobiographical papers and not justifying his part in *l'affaire du 3 Nivôse*, and in Charleston, was his penance.

Had clairvoyance been one of the attributes of the young Breton in youth, we think it would have been impossible for him to have believed the things which he would have foreseen; struggles and trial of the world, the flesh and the spirit, and finally seasons of accomplishment in a cloister before his demise which took place on Sept. 29, 1826, the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel.

Although applied originally to a man of very different political convictions,<sup>49</sup> one cannot fail to be reminded of the lines in Wordsworth's *Prelude*:

“A meeker man

Than this lived never, nor a more benign,  
Meek though enthusiastic. . . . .

By Birth he ranked

With the most noble, but unto the poor  
Amongst mankind he was in service bound  
As by some tie invisible, oaths professed  
To a religious order. Man he loved  
As man; and, to the mean, and the obscure,  
And all the homely in their homely works,  
Transferred a courtesy which had no air  
Of condescension; but did rather seem  
A passion and a gallantry, like that  
Which he, a soldier, in his idler day  
Had paid to woman; . . . . .

47. ANNE ROYALL, *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States*, New Haven, 1826, p. 180.

48. LAROCHE-HERON, *Op. cit.*, p. 350.

49. Michael Arnold Beaupuy (1755-1796).



FIG. 8. — J. P. PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE. — Portrait of an Unknown Lady, miniature. — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

..... a kind of radiant joy,  
Diffused around him, while he was intent  
On works of love or freedom, or revolved  
Complacently the progress of a cause,  
Whereof he was a part; yet he was meek  
And placid, and took nothing from the man  
That was delightful.....<sup>50</sup>

The death notice for the artist-architect, patriot-priest, was published in the "Daily National Intelligencer" (Washington, D. C.) for September 30, 1826 and on October 14, the same paper printed the following:

#### "TRIBUTE OF FRIENDSHIP

"JOSEPH PIERRE PICOT DE CLORIVIERE, deceased on the 29th of September, at the Monastery of the Visitation in Georgetown, D. C., was descended from a noble family in the province of Brittany, in France. Since the year 1344, his ancestors are mentioned with distinction, in the history of this province, in the religious, civil, and military careers. Joseph Pierre

Picot, the subject of the present notice, was born near Broons, on the 4th November, 1768. At the epoch of the Revolution, which brought Louis XVI to the scaffold, he took a decided part in defense of the rights of his country and humanity, and so many were his feats of valor, and so undaunted his courage, that he deserved to receive at the year 1800, from the hands of Charles the present King of France, in the name of his brother Louis XVIII, the decoration of the order of St. Louis. Like many of his fellow officers, when the army of La Vendée was disbanded, he went to England, and afterward came to this country, which, in those days of confusion and anarchy, so frequently proved the asylum of the brave, the virtuous, and persecuted.

"After having spent several years in different avocations, honorably supporting a life which would have been lulled in affluence in his native country, he determined, in 1808, to enter the Seminary in Baltimore; and having performed the normal course of preparatory studies, was admitted, in 1812, to the holy order of Priesthood. The most venerable Dr. Carroll, who then occupied the Archeepiscopal See of Baltimore, with his usual prudence and sagacity, discerned his merits and immediately commissioned him to share the labors of the extensive Congregation in Charleston, S. C. There he displayed that ardor for the glory of his Divine

50. ERNEST DE SELINCOURT, *The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind* by William Wordsworth, edited from the Manuscripts, with Introduction, Textual and Critical Notes, Oxford, 1926, p. 325.

Master, which glowed in his breast and sowed seeds of piety which will long be cherished. His pious endeavors however, were not permitted to fructify without the most strenuous opposition. In these trying times, he evinced a courage and a patience in discharge of his ministerial functions, worthy of the holy cause in which he was engaged. Archbishop Neale, too, was fully aware of his worth, and, during his short administration, tendered to him the most unequivocal marks of his affection and esteem. In 1819, when Charleston became an Episcopal See, Mr. de Clorivière returned to the Diocese of Baltimore. He was affectionately received by the venerable Prelate that now governs this diocese, and appointed by him to the important charge of Director of the Monastery of the Visitation in Georgetown.

"Here a new field was opened to his zeal, his prudence, and his piety, and the citizens of Georgetown soon witnessed, with joyful astonishment, how deeply these virtues were rooted in his bosom. A Monastery almost created anew — an edifice so noted for its taste and its elegance, erected to the worship of the Almighty, an Academy for the instruction of young Ladies, established on the most extensive plan — a benevolent school to facilitate the education of those in less easy circumstances — are lasting monuments to his zeal, and will long call to the minds of the citizens of the District, the remembrance of the affable, generous, pious, Joseph Peter Picot de Clorivière. Yes, lamented friend! long will your name be remembered. The pious souls whom your wisdom directed, and your piety edified, will long cherish in their tranquil retirement, the memory of their benefactor, their friend, and their father, and even when the memory of your deeds will be lost in the gulf of time, posterity will feel the gentle influence of the establishment which you have founded, and with grateful feelings, breathe eternal rest to their founder."

Father de Clorivière's tombstone, in the Chapel of the Sacred Heart in the Convent at Georgetown, bears the following:



*Hic jacet*

*JOSEPHUS PETRUS PICOT DE CLORIVIERE,*

*In Britannian minori nobili genere natus,*

*insignem virtutis bellicae laudem,*

*in Gallia,*

*miles, comparavit.*

*Ast, temporum iniquitate coactus,*

*haud absque Numine Divino,*

*militiaeque clericali nomen dedit.*

*Sacerdotio initiatus,*

*primum, Ecclesiam Carolopoleos, indefesso Zelo,  
 administravit.*  
*Dein, Visitationis Stae Mariae Sanctimonialium,  
 Georgiopoli,*  
*Moderator renuntiatus,  
 creditam sibi domum,*  
*summa prudentia, pietate, charitate ac mansuetudine,  
 rexit.*  
*Templo, Academia et novis aedibus  
 Monasterium ita auxit ut illius  
 Fundator alter,  
 jure diei possit.*  
*Ad vitae religiosae perfectionem  
 Moniales, quoad vixit, adhortatus,  
 omnibus praebat exemplo.*  
*Plenus tandem bonis operibus,  
 die vigesima nona Septembbris anno 1826.  
 suae vero aetatis 58  
 placide quievit.*  
*R. I. P.*



FIG. 9.—J. P. PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE, silhouette.—Convent of the Visitation, Georgetown, Washington, D. C.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE.

## APPENDIX

Miniatures by de Clorivière show some personality and individuality, and a variety of techniques. He painted in the opaque French style and also in the pure water-color technique used by English and American artists. His ivories are respectable in quality but hardly distinguished. The color on the faces is clear and the shadows naturally rubbed in. The backgrounds are usually opaque; sometimes clear aquarelle and hatched from upper right to lower left, the light coming from the painter's right.

The signatures on his ivories vary, but he apparently used the names Picot and de Clorivière.

From the number of signed miniatures extant he must have enjoyed a good clientele and from the subjects which he painted in America, it is clear that he worked in Savannah, possibly elsewhere in Georgia, perhaps in Beaufort, South Carolina, and evidently in Charleston. Although French groups of considerable size both from France and the islands were substantial residents of Savannah, Charleston and Baltimore, Maryland, curiously enough it is not from among them that his patrons were drawn. The only professional advertisement of his which I have found in a newspaper is in the "Baltimore Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser,"

of October 21, 1806: "*Likenesses* will be taken in miniature by Mr. Clorivière, in Second Street, at Mr. Bannerman's, two doors from the Phoenix Insurance Office."

Numbers 9, 10, 12 and 13 of the following list of miniatures were included in the catalogue of *An Exhibition of Miniatures Owned in South Carolina and of South Carolinians Owned Elsewhere Painted Before the Year 1860* (Carolina Art Association, Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston, S. C., 1935).

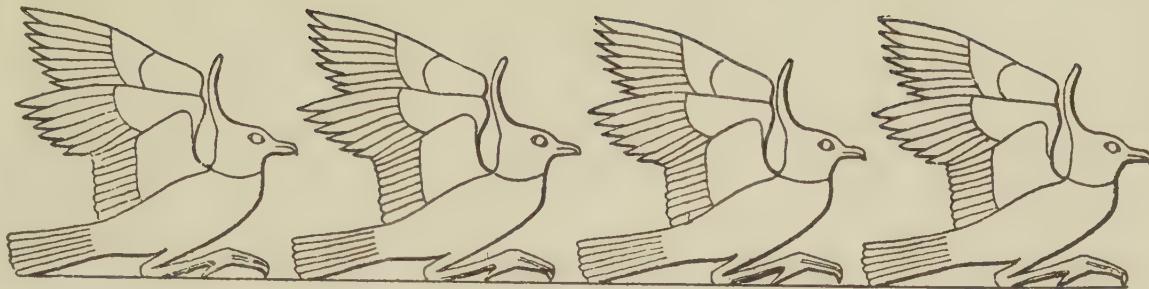
Numbers 4, 5, 6, 7, 15 and 21 were shown in 1941 at *An Exhibition of Virginia Miniatures* (The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1941). No. 16 was listed as No. 194 in my *Handlist of Miniatures in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society* ("Maryland Historical Magazine," vol. XL, No. 2, June 1945).

The names of owners of miniatures were listed in the loan catalogues, but many of these are now out of date and are therefore not given here again.

## LIST OF MINATURES BY JOSEPH-PIERRE PICOT DE LIMOELAN DE CLORIVIERE

1. The Most Reverend John Carroll (1735-1815), Archbishop of Baltimore.—From stipple engraving after de Clorivière (Fig. 2).
2. Dr. John Aloysius Casey (1781-1819)  
Signed: *P. de Cloriviere 1817.*
3. Dr. John Casey  
Signed: 180- *P. de Cloriviere*
4. Richard Furt,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  x  $1\frac{7}{8}$ .
5. Mrs. Richard Furt (Elizabeth Badger),  $2\frac{1}{2}$  x  $2\frac{1}{16}$ .
6. Mrs. Sarah Gilbert,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  x 2.  
Signed: *P. de Cloriviere, 1807.*
7. Child of the Gilbert Family,  $1\frac{13}{16}$  x  $1\frac{7}{16}$ .  
Signed: *P. de Cloriviere, 1807.*
8. Mrs. Nathaniel Greene (Catherine Littlefield).  
Signed: *Picot 1805* (Fig. 3).
9. A Gentleman of the Heyward family.  
Signed: *Clorivieres Ppt.* (Fig. 4).
10. Mrs. Hill (Maria Sanchez).  
Signed: *P* (Fig. 5).
11. Gentleman with initials I. H.
12. William Joyner.  
Signed: *P. de Cloriviere, 1807.*
13. Thomas Mendenhall.  
Signed: *Picot* (Fig. 6).
14. Mary Anne Belinda O'Keefe (Mrs. William White).  
Signed: *Picot.*
15. Andrew Greene Simpson Semmes (1781-1833), of Charles County, Maryland and Wilkes County, Georgia (Fig. 7).
16. Thomas Smyth.
17. Mrs. William Taylor (Mary Elizabeth Miller) (1774-1825), of Edenton, North Carolina.
18. Unknown Lady.  
Signed: *Picot* (Fig. 8).
19. Unknown Lady.  
Signed: *P. de Clo.*
20. Unknown Man.  
Signed: *Cloriviere 18—.*
21. Unknown Man.  $2\frac{3}{8}$  x  $1\frac{7}{8}$ .  
Signed: *P. de Cloriviere, 1807.*

A.W.R.



# THE CLASSIC ART OF RENOIR

AS SO OFTEN happens with artists, irony willed it that Renoir should first gain fame just at the time when he grew more and more dissatisfied with his previous work and was seeking for entirely new approaches to his task. The artist who confessed that he had always tried to paint human beings just as he would beautiful fruit, never was a real portraitist, although he had established his fame mostly in this field. The country people of Essoyes, where he had bought a house in his later years, "were unanimous in their belief that Renoir was not able to 'take a portrait' as well as the photographer in the neighboring town." But even in early years he had a hard time to please his customers. So he relates to Vollard that, in 1868, he painted a portrait for a pair of shoes. And he complains: "Every time I thought the picture was finished and saw myself wearing the shoes, along came the aunt, the daughter, or even the old servant, to criticize:

'Do you think that my niece (my mother, Madame, according to the occasion)

has a nose as long as that?"

"Finally, in order to get the shoes I gave the old girl a nose like Madame de Pompadour!"

In later times the commission of a portrait had become a mere pretext of the collectors to extract a picture from the artist. Cases where children were actually borrowed for these occasions were not unknown. Once a smart collector said to him:

"Will you permit me to bring my wife with me? She simply has not been able to sleep since she saw the last exhibition of your pictures at Durand-Ruel's. — 'If I could only have my portrait done by Renoir!' she keeps saying. I have told her many times: 'Perhaps Renoir won't like you.' "

Disturbed to think the poor lady could imagine she might be distasteful to him, Renoir finally accepted the commission with the hope that the punishment would not be too severe . . . but such fears were quite in vain. The amateur brought him a professional model, the finest kind of a blonde, the blonde that Renoir so loved to paint.

The antagonism — as felt throughout the history of modern portrait painting — between the uniqueness of the individual on the one side and the universality of the type on the other, was an inheritance of the Renaissance. Unlike Cézanne who developed an entirely new mental technique by which the universal and typical could be abstracted from nature, Renoir did not try to solve this problem in an intellectual way. Renoir grew more and more independent of the searching and discovering spirit of the Renaissance, at the same time highly developing his innate Mediterranean sensuousness. It might be said, somewhat paradoxically, that he grew the more independent of Nature as he was embracing her more closely with his innate classic idealism.

Nothing can better illustrate this paradoxical situation than the following incident, as related by Vollard: Renoir painted a nude from a very pretty model and as he was not satisfied he took another model and tried again. Yet he failed once more. "It's a long, hard job," he said to Vollard. "I'm going to try to find Louison again. The trouble is that . . ." and in a very direct language, which need not be repeated here, he described the deteriorations of this once pretty model whom he had employed thirty years before. He actually hunted her up, Vollard says, searched out the curve of the stomach again under the coarsening flesh, and painted his finest nude.

It is well known that classic art is indifferent to the portrait. This branch of art, developing very late in Greece and even in Hellenistic times, was inclined more toward rendering an ideal type than toward presenting a portrait in the strict sense of Egyptian, Roman, and Renaissance art. Accordingly, the classic



FIG. 1.—RENOIR.—Portrait of the Thurneyssen Boy as Shepherd, 1911.—Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island.

creations of the human figure culminated in idealized types and avoided the representation of the unique characteristics of the individual.

In examining the development of art, as far as its attitude toward the portrait is concerned, one meets with one of the most striking complexities not only of art alone, but of human thought in general. In Egypt, the portrait was a prerogative of the King and the ruling class, as was their right for a thorough preservation of their bodies. To be a personality or an individual and hence to be in possession of liberty, was a distinction. In Greece, to possess a free body or rather to be a free personality was a distinction of men in general, that is to say, of each individual. Not, however, what made the distinctive features of the individuals but what they had in common — their being human in general — gave liberty to the Greeks. Again, in the Renaissance, everybody is an individual. The accepted personality of any human being expressed in the highly developed por-



FIG. 2. — RENOIR. — *Blond Girl*. *Courtesy of Phaidon Ed., London.*

traiture of the Renaissance, is only one aspect of the liberty of mind as conceived by Christianity. But this general liberty of mind had to be paid for with the liberty of the body; and as far as the Renaissance's interest in Classic Antiquity is concerned, it may be interpreted as the attempt to restore the liberty of the body and to add it to the freedom of the mind.

Since the Renaissance, then, the attempts both to express the freedom of the body and to conceal it with the ideal expression of the liberty of mind, are in the foreground of the epic of art. This development had its first climax in Michelangelo and Titian. It meant a turning away from both the portrait-like approach to nature and the expression of liberty through physical movement as practiced in ancient art.

It is significant that the sculptor Michelangelo never even so much as attempted to make a portrait, whereas in the painter Titian, highly developed portraiture went side by side with representations in a classic poise of body and face. Since that time the traditions of highly individualized portraiture and classic idealism has run parallel in European painting and often overlapped, as they did in Titian himself.

We need describe neither the destinies of European painting after Titian nor the particular conditions which prevailed at the beginning of Renoir's career, to see that — as far as the antagonism between realistic portraiture and classic generality is concerned — little change had occurred in the meantime. Renoir was still in the same predicament as Titian, but he made his personal choice and found his own solution of the problem.

"I was going to tell you . . . about a sort of break that came in my work about

1883. I had wrung Impressionism dry, and I finally came to the conclusion that I knew neither how to paint nor draw. In a word, Impressionism was a blind alley, as far as I was concerned." Thus Renoir about his earlier career. And he continues: "I'm sick and tired of the so-called 'discoveries' of Impressionism. It isn't likely that the old masters were ignorant of them, it is because all great artists have despised mere effects. By making Nature simpler, they made it more impressive."

As is true with many a modern artist, Renoir was over forty before he had entirely affirmed himself. For it is not only for his own sake that the modern artist has to establish a personal tradition; this tradition is the very vehicle of the art consumer's understanding and enjoyment as well, and it seems to take about a generation until he has penetrated public consciousness. Not that Renoir had not executed numerous masterpieces in the first third of his career. Yet the essence of his early work reflects but one aspect of the many and varied efforts we have agreed to call Impressionism. And as it seemed to Renoir himself so it does to us who are in a position to observe his life-work; his first period is only a preparation for his unique task to come.

The epochal change in his work so resolutely referred to by the artist, is accompanied by several significant circumstances. First among these come the two trips to Italy in 1881 and 1883, and his repeatedly expressed interest in fresco paint-



FIG. 3. — KORE 686. — National Museum, Athens.



FIG. 4. — Giotto. — *Madonna*. — Uffizi, Florence.

art: the composition of nudes. He seems to have been not a little affected by Cézanne's similar strivings.

A conscious contact with classic art is documented, furthermore, by subjects like the *Ode aux Fleurs* after the Greek poet Anacreon, the *Portrait of the Thurneyssen Boy* whom he represented as a youthful shepherd (Fig. 1), and several versions of the *Judgment of Paris*. At last, a sign of his deviation from the Impressionistic teachings may be seen in his abandonment of the seemingly accidental composition of his earlier period, and in his inclination toward the closed composition of the Renaissance.

More important than these outward proofs of the later Renoir's tendency toward classic solutions, are those signs which reveal themselves only after an analysis of his work. The stoutness of his women has been repeated by Picasso who brought this type into a closer relation to the later painting of Classical Antiquity. By this comparison Renoir's trend becomes more apparent, at the same

ing and decoration, that is, in monumental and architectonically fixed work. Then there is the following incident, referred to by Meier-Graefe, which shows that the inner preparation of the change goes well back to the Seventies. In 1875 Renoir copied Delacroix's *Noce Juive* in the Louvre. Beside the Delacroix painting hung one of the best portraits by Ingres who at that time was a much-despised artist. During the intervals of his work at the copy, Renoir could not help seeing Ingres' painting and it seems to have helped to enhance his interest in line and decorative structure.

Another sign of this change was that the nude became of growing importance as a subject and that the artist from now on once again ventured into the most classical theme of classic

time contrasting his lively sensuousness with his successor's more analytical attempts.

This trend of the artist can be explained in two different ways. As far as the subject matter is concerned it is directed toward a maturer type of woman. Formally, it means the preference of voluminous and well-rounded forms which lend themselves more readily to tactile realizations of space. It is obvious that the subject-matter explanation is practically identical in its significance with the formalistic interpretation. Hence it may be justifiable to stick to the subject-matter explanation throughout, keeping in mind, however, that this explanation comprises the formal analysis as well.

Greek sculpture, even before the realization of the mature *Aphrodite* type, created its youthful females on a level beyond actual age. In the head of the Acropolis *Kore* (686) (Fig. 3), the youthful charm, though not entirely lacking, is certainly not predominant. The type is not quite so fleshy as its later sisters but it has in common with them the rather stout proportion of the egg-shaped head, the tight and yet roundish cheeks, and the accentuated horizontal-vertical organization. The severe structure of this head is more important than the fact that a youthful person was to be represented. It is this very antagonism between natural youthfulness and formal severity, through which the archaic character and charm of this sculpture reveals itself.

In Renoir's *Blond*



FIG. 5. — RENOIR. — Mother and Child. — Hunt Henderson Collection, New Orleans.

*Girl* (Fig. 2) the forehead is similarly framed by the triangle of the hair-dressing. Heavy plastic lids surround the almond-shaped eyes just as in the Greek sculpture. The wide mouth again emphasizes the horizontal in the head and the vigorous chin particularly resembles that of the Attic girl. The severe structure of Renoir's girl is as contradictory to the representation of youthful charm as is that of the Greek head. In the latter the severity is mitigated by the charmingly elaborate hair-dressing as it is by the luster of hair and eyes in the Renoir.

Broad, almond-shaped eyes are a recurrent feature in most of Giotto's heads and can best be studied in his *Madonna of the Uffizi* (Fig. 4). The proportion of her head is not quite so compact as that of the Greek girl, the chin is more pointed; but this is made up for by the broadness given to the head by the cloth drawn over it. Again, besides the horizontal-vertical of eyes and nose, the tight cheeks are preeminent.

In Renoir's *Mother and Child* (Fig. 5) the more circular shape of the head is nearer to the Greek proportion, yet



FIG. 6. -- RENOIR. -- Bather. -- The Art Institute, Chicago. Courtesy of the Chicago Art Institute.

her eyes, eyebrows, and nose are astoundingly similar to those of Giotto's *Madonna*. In both pictures, furthermore, the mouth is slightly opened so as to show the teeth. This is apparently meant to soften the otherwise severe shape of the features.

One cannot study this particular trend of the later Renoir to represent the maturer type of womanhood without realizing that it was paralleled in the development of one of the most important forerunners of modern painting, namely in



FIG. 7. — TITIAN. — *Toilet of Venus*. — Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

that of Titian. The features of Titian's *Venus* of 1558 reflect his usual Renaissance type which undoubtedly developed from Hellenistic traditions. The classic unity of the shape, however, is broken here by the sideway turn of the head which allows the eye to cut the forehead-cheek line. Yet, what is even more important, over the fundamentally severe form a splendid charm and youthful appeal is poured which attaches to it something singular and momentary. This head is a portrait, idealized though it may be.

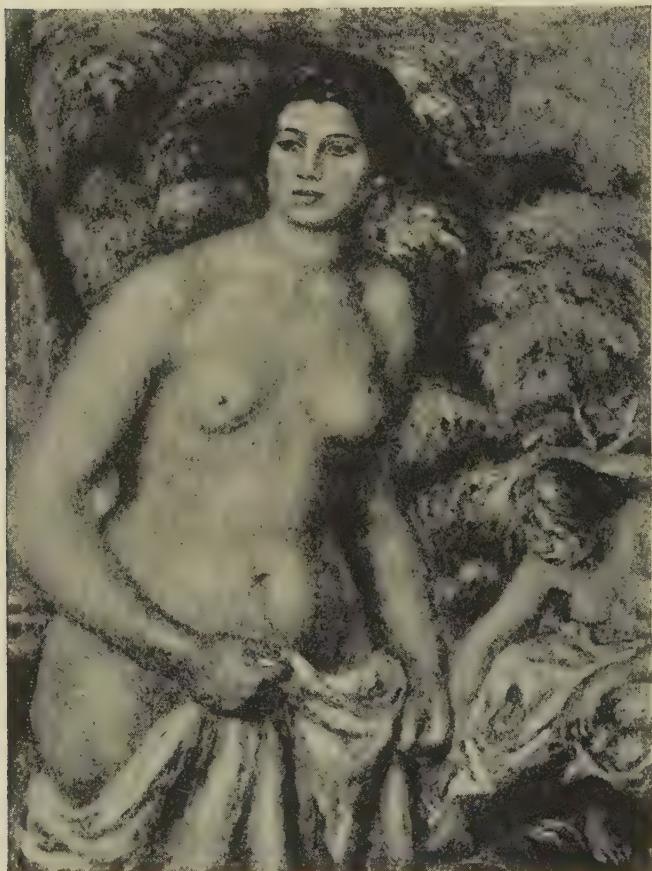


FIG. 8. — RENOIR. — Bather, 1908.

nose, and mouth take up a relatively very small portion of the face.

The head of Titian's *Venus* is more pointed toward the chin than is that of Renoir's *Bather* of 1908 (Fig. 8). But the latter's clear high forehead, its elegantly arched eyebrows, the classic nose, the nobly alive nostrils, the full sensuous lips, and many other features, may well be likened to Titian's *Venus*. Furthermore, both figures have a common proportion of head to body, the former being rather small in comparison with the latter. With the agelessness of the face corre-

The same youthful and appealing charm can be found in Renoir's *Bather* (Fig. 6). The girl represented may have less personality than Titian's *Venus* and hence seems to be less outspokenly a portrait in the stricter sense of the word. Yet what really matters is that an obviously transient moment of human age is depicted, whereas the later female representations of both artists give a type almost beyond age, the very essence of womanhood.

This is certainly the case in Titian's *Toilet of Venus* of 1559 (Fig. 7). Now, the head is turned so far to the side that its roundish shape can find interpretation by the outline of the nose instead of the cheek. The forehead is rather high and together with the uninterrupted transition from cheek to neck it gives a sense almost of barenness. This strange impression is due to the fact that eyes,



FIG. 9. — Venus of Milo. — Louvre, Paris.

sponds the emphasis on the female body, a combination which reminds one of the Hellenistic Aphrodite type as, for instance, the *Venus of Milo* (Fig. 9).

It has been said that Renoir's sensuousness is connected with a lack of ideas. This is a very unfortunate misinterpretation of his classic attitude whose very sensuousness is ideal in a pre-Platonic sense. True, his work is clearly distinct from the usual classicistic approach, and therein healthy enough; yet, besides that, there are to be found in it very positive ideas. His lyric poetry is more sensitive to the ideal and sensuous beauty than any other modern painter's, with the possible exception of Corot. There may be less intellectual consciousness, yet there is more simple and unreflected Nature-worship.

The man who had lived through two invasions of his country, and who had gone through the agony of having two sons fighting at the front in the first World War, never became untrue to himself. Nor did his crippled hands prevent him from following his ideal of beauty. He did not need to avoid the issues of the day nor to limit himself to a barren art for art's sake; by ceaselessly and in manifold variations expressing the beauties of Life and Nature he fulfilled a very important task. For it is in the Classic, ideal affirmation of Life through Art and Philosophy, that the cause of man wins Eternity.

PAUL M. LAPORTE.



## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

JUAN DE CONTRERAS.—MARQUÉS DE LOZOYA.—*Historia del Arte Hispánico*, vol. IV.—Barcelona, Salvat Editores, 1945, 684 pp., 626 ills., 58 pls.

The MARQUIS OF LOZOYA's *Historia del Arte Hispánico*, the publication of which was started in 1931, has now reached its fourth volume. This is devoted to the history of painting, sculpture, architecture and minor arts in Spain, Portugal, and their American colonies from the late XVI through the XVIII Century. The art of Goya is not discussed, however, as it will be dealt with in the fifth volume together with the art of the XIX Century.

Though the first chapter is given to a discussion of some aspects of the Baroque period, the interest of the book lies in the information that it contains. In fact, the illustrations number almost seven hundred, and many of them are of works reproduced for the first time or to be found only in publications which are not ordinarily at hand. Moreover, what is known of the biographies of the artists is accurately summarized, and data pertaining to the factual circumstances of the creation of works of art provided. Unfortunately, as in the case of any recent history of European art, a number of the works discussed and illustrated are no longer extant, as they were destroyed by war.

Latin American art is extensively studied; thus, the book forms a compendium of art both in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Americas. The MARQUIS OF LOZOYA,

though trying to show the cultural unity of the Hispanic world, has not neglected to point out some of the characteristic local differences. It may be, however, that the significance of Hispanic art has been somewhat obscured by the author's tendency to see what is Hispanic as essentially different from anything else.

The chapters devoted to the XVIII Century will be more useful to those interested in the study of Hispanic art. For, in spite of some valuable monographs on XVIII Century art subjects, we still lack a comprehensive study of this period. The MARQUIS OF LOZOYA has undertaken to collect the materials scattered in a large number of publications, and to build them into a readable outline. This is perhaps as much as could be done in a work of this scope.

An important feature of Lozoza's *Historia del Arte Hispánico* is its ample discussion of minor arts. In the last two chapters of the present volume, the author gives an account of the history of furniture, textiles, glass, ceramics, etc. The choice of the accompanying illustrations reveals the taste of a connoisseur.

Each chapter is followed by a long list of bibliographical references. Even realizing that such lists are not intended to be exhaustive, one must regret certain omissions. To cite but one example, AUGUST L. MAYER's critical catalogue of El Greco's works (Munich, 1926) is not mentioned. It is to be hoped that in the forthcoming volume of this *Historia del Arte Hispánico* its author will decide either to give a complete bibli-

graphy on the subjects discussed, or to adopt a more critical point of view in the selection of bibliographical references, which certainly seems more appropriate for a work of this nature. That, no doubt, would increase the general usefulness of a book which is likely to find a place in many libraries.

José LÓPEZ-REY.

JUAN ANTONIO GAYA NUÑO.—*El románico en la provincia de Soria*.—Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1946, 283 pp., 102 pls.

MR. GAYA has written what amounts to a catalogue of Romanesque architecture in the province of Soria. He has succeeded in assembling as much information as anybody could possibly collect on the subject. In addition to that he has reproduced photographs and plans of many buildings thus increasing the informative value of his book.

MR. GAYA encloses the Sorian Romanesque period between the dates of 1054 and 1269: the first refers to the Cid's recapture of the city of San Esteban from the Muhammadans, and the second to the dedication of the hermitage of Olmedo, in Olvega, though MR. GAYA thinks that this building was finished by 1250.

That some Sorian Romanesque buildings are to be dated well within the XIII Century would indicate how isolated Soria was from the art tendencies prevailing at the time in more creative centers. The author says in his introduction that French and Catalan Romanesque tastes were little known in Soria before 1140, Romanesque building there having been initiated by a colony of Muhammadans who had submitted to Count Sancho Garcia in San Esteban de Gormaz, and whom Alfonso VI allowed to preserve their traditions.

Consequently, the first Romanesque building erected in that area—the church of San Miguel in the city of San Esteban de Gormaz, according to MR. GAYA—already shows the Mudejar imprint which was to prevail there. The seven arches which form the lateral portico of the church of San Miguel are convincingly related, from the point of view of both symbolism and architectural arrangement, to the seven-arch portico depicted in a miniature in the *Beatus* of Burgos de Osma (1065), where each of the arches stands for one of the seven Biblical cities of Ephesus, Smyrna, Perigamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

One wishes that the author had studied more thoroughly the Orientalism that he points out in many of the buildings discussed, and that he had tried to ascertain its actual significance in the western world. But, as he himself says in the introduction, his discussion of the origins and development of the Sorian Romanesque is all too brief. Had he undertaken a more comprehensive study of the problems upon which he touches in his introduction, he might have been able to make more meaningful the descriptions contained in his catalogue, which at times are too much in the nature of unelaborated notes. Moreover, he might have found means of relieving the reader from such phrases as "a simple Romanesque church," "a very simple Romanes-

que church," or "an extraordinarily simple Romanesque church" which is all that he has to say about a considerable number of buildings.

Even so, this book embodies a useful inventory of the Sorian Romanesque churches, the structure and elements of many of which are analyzed in the excellent plans and other drawings included in the text, as well as in the plates appended to it.

And any scholar interested in the subject will be grateful for the data that MR. GAYA has put at his disposal.

José LÓPEZ-REY.

JUAN AINAUD, JOSÉ GUDIOL AND F.-P. VERRÍE.—*Catálogos monumentales de España. La Ciudad de Barcelona*.—Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1947, vol. I, 398 pp., 48 pls.; vol. II, 89 pp. of index, 1420 ills.

The publication of the *Catálogos monumentales de España* was started forty years ago with DR. JOSÉ RAMÓN MÉLIDA's volumes devoted to the province of Badajoz. Since then several other catalogues have been brought out at long intervals. Their quality has varied considerably, ranging from a journalistic undertaking, as in MR. CRISTOBAL DE CASTRO's *Provincia de Alava*, to the solid scholarship found in DR. MANUEL GÓMEZ-MORENO's volumes on the provinces of Zamora and León. Scholars have reason to regret that the catalogues of the provinces of Avila and Salamanca, which were seemingly completed by DR. GÓMEZ-MORENO many years ago, have not yet been published.

The new catalogue deals, not with a province, but with a city so rich in art treasures as Barcelona. It is gratifying to see, at least in this instance, that the work has been entrusted to more than one author. This should obviate—and it does in the present case—the dangers inherent in the unavoidable tendency on the part of any single author to lean more heavily on the field of his own scholarly interest.

The reader will find in the two new volumes an accurate inventory of the works of art in the city of Barcelona. The second contains over fourteen hundred illustrations—some of them of works destroyed in the course of the Spanish Civil War. Among the architectural and sculptural details reproduced, there are a good many which will be revealing to the art-historian. The same can be said of the paintings, a number of which are, we believe, reproduced for the first time.

Unfortunately, neither of the two different kinds of paper used for the plates is of a quality which would contribute to a neat impression. Moreover, when several illustrations are given on the same page, they are grouped in such a way that a certain overcrowding results in most cases. The forty-eight plates in the first volume—where over sixty plans and elevations of buildings are reproduced—are of a better quality.

Information is provided on works of architecture, painting, sculpture, and minor arts from the Roman period through the XVIII Century, and even on some early XIX Century buildings. Since the authors have arranged their material according to chronological order, it may be said that this catalogue is actually a history of

the city of Barcelona written from the art point of view.

On the other hand, the indexes—of monuments, artists, and notable people—will be of real use to anybody seeking data on a particular topic.

If bibliographical references had been included, the usefulness of the book would have been considerably increased. Such an omission is all the more regrettable since some of the articles, like those dealing with the Cathedral, Santa María del Mar, and the Monastery of Pedralbes, are actually brief monographs.

In addition to accurate data, the reader will find sound hypothesis about the dates and attributions of the works discussed. In closing, one should state that this catalogue ranks among the good ones published in the series, and the three co-authors should be congratulated for the uniformity and sense of balance which they have succeeded in maintaining throughout the text as well as in the choice of illustrations.

JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY.

WOLFGANG BORN.—*Still Life Painting in America*.—New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, 54 pp., 134 ills. \$7.50.

This is the first book to cover the whole range of still life painting in America. In quantity alone, there is ample justification for the author's choice of this type of painting in our country from the early XIX Century on through the present time, as subject for a book. However in years to come, after one of our well informed art historians writes a comprehensive history of American art, it appears certain to this reviewer that the importance of still life as subject-matter will recede into the background, leaving the greater space for the main currents such as portraiture, genre, landscape and marine painting.

DR. BORN, who has a good background in the history of European art, sees the beginnings of still life painting in America in relationship to the earlier highly skilled productions of such European painters as Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Francisco de Zurbaran and Cornelius Van Spaendonck. But the work of these masters is so far superior to the work of the Peale family in America, that one wonders where the connecting link may be. If American still life could be considered without tying it up to the slick academic productions of European masters, it could then be more readily understood. All through the XIX Century in this country, still life painting flourished on a wide sociological base. The Peale family admittedly had the academic approach and labored over realistic effects in their many fruit and flower productions. On the other hand, there is a great quantity of primitive and provincial painting, anonymous for the most part, which has a far more highly decorative quality and may well be judged to be of greater importance in a later evaluation of the subject.

The remarkable Peale family, now well recorded by CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS, among other ventures, made quite a name for itself in still life painting. The number of individual members of the family who painted, and their combined output, has caused another reviewer,

MALCOLM COWLEY, of the "New York Herald Tribune," to pause and do a little arithmetic. He found that this present book is 15.5% Peale. James and Raphaelle Peale were the major producers and later generations carried on the family tradition. But what is far more exciting and decorative is the vast quantity of work by the unschooled, primitive painter who sought to paint fruit and flowers in the academic vein but who left us with a great variety of material which has little relationship to the European tradition. Fortunately, DR. BORN was well aware of the primitive and folk art productions and has given us many good illustrations of this type of painting.

After the Peale family, the next important person is William Harnett who popularized a "new" form of art in this country, that of *trompe l'oeil*. This technique of fooling the eye is always popular and in a sense timeless, and is the end product of still life painting.

After Harnett, who was active in the 1870's and 1880's we have the work of Martin J. Heade, who was not, strictly speaking, a still life painter. Heade had planned to do a major work on the illustration of orchids and humming birds of Brazil for publication in chromolithography. His audience was to have been a scientific one, that is, the ornithologist and the botanist, a project never published. But DR. BORN may believe that regardless of the scientific importance of Heade's work, it is still life according to his definition. As for the other example of Heade's illustrated work, *Gremlin in the Studio*, the still life aspect was not actually the work of Heade. The humorous note was added by the practical joker Frederic E. Church, in whose studio Heade was working at the time.

Although the author has chosen a wide variety of subject-matter in his illustrations, many of the artists represented are far better known in other fields of picture making. La Farge, Duveneck and Hassam may have done still life on occasion but that was not their chief speciality. In the XX Century it is perhaps only William Merritt Chase and Charles Sheeler who may be considered outstanding practitioners of still life. In the late XIX Century the representation of still life became a part of the academic subject-matter, but it has always remained a minor branch of the whole field of American art. Actually, it is a subject that all art students study and many practice, but it has never been a subject that could be called outstandingly American.

DR. BORN has written well, the text itself running to fifty pages of double columns. Unfortunately four additional pages of footnotes are practically useless, for no indication is given within the text to the supporting footnote. If the publisher fears that the public dislikes footnotes, why not omit them altogether? It might be more sensible to devote these "lost" pages to a good bibliography, one of the "musts" for any good book on the history of art, and a feature omitted in this book. Although necessary details regarding each illustration are given in the section *List of Illustrations*, it surely would be more helpful to the student to have these details—such as, date, size and medium—accompany each caption.

However, the book has an attractive format and will

undoubtedly find an audience beyond the narrow academic world.

MARY BARTLETT COWDREY.

KLAUS BERGER.—*Géricault, Drawings and Watercolors.*—New York, H. Bittner and Co. 1946, 34 pp., 53 pls. \$12.00.

The purpose of this handsomely illustrated book is to reveal new aspects of Géricault's art. The selection of drawings and watercolors emphasizes works from American collections, most of which had not been included in the earlier publications on the artist, issued abroad.

In the accompanying text MR. BERGER concentrates his efforts on presenting a fresh approach to Géricault, principally in terms of a reinterpretation of his significance for the later XIX Century. His concern is with the painter's ideas rather than with the factual aspects of Géricault's work or historical position. Established chronology is accepted almost without comment; the influences to which Géricault was subject are treated broadly in relation to the evolution of his style. In the instances where the author has new ideas about the connection of a specific work with past or contemporary art, the question is put tentatively—as a suggestion without concise argument to support it.

Even the areas in French painting which owe a debt to Géricault, remain essentially as they were established by earlier scholars—the generation of the Romanticists in terms of direct inspiration and the generation of Realism in terms of anticipation of a point of view. MR. BERGER's aim is to put these historical relationships in a new perspective. He writes with enthusiasm and verve as if to convey the exciting possibilities his ideas possess, reminding one of the kind of teacher who is more anxious to stimulate thought and feeling in his students than to establish precise and final facts.

Two factors, in the opinion of this reviewer, limit the success of MR. BERGER's effort to interesting suggestions rather than the establishment of new hypotheses with which others might work. The first is the obvious restriction of the text in this type of book, given over mainly to illustrations. The second is the fact that no system of categories of style has been established for XIX Century art, which could provide means of distinguishing works of that century from those of other periods and styles, as can be done for the Renaissance and Baroque periods through the work of WÖLFFIN.

This is a most serious obstacle for our author because he assumes that there are basic patterns in XIX Century painting, and it is as an initiator of these patterns that he assigns to Géricault his new significance. With no space in which to develop these ideas, MR. BERGER can only make brief, fervent pleas for his thesis. The result is in danger of being obscure, and it fails to convince because of the complete lack of any elaboration or argument.

One of the pioneering accomplishments claimed for Géricault is the initiation of a new principle of his relation to past traditions of art. The multiple character of the painter's borrowings is cited, but nothing specific is deduced therefrom. To say "Modernity lies not in ignor-

ing tradition, but in giving it an original interpretation," does not appear to distinguish the eclecticism of Géricault or the XIX Century from that of any other period.

Another thesis, far more fundamental for the whole treatment of Géricault, is based on an interpretation of the style of the artist's last period and involves its significance for the second half of the century. Since there are so few oil paintings in this late manner, the weight given to drawings and watercolors is justified. Indeed, the importance in the author's mind of this final style, leads him to criticize the emphasis hitherto given to the *Raft of the Medusa* which was painted before the late style had been achieved, and in fact is seen as representing a "swing to the side of the local colorists."

In the last phase of his art, Géricault is held to have arrived at a unity of style in synthesis of the color and atmosphere of the English school, of the linear structure of his Italian period, and the expressive quality of his earlier Rubens-like draftsmanship which now pervades the whole structure of the work instead of being confined to the outlines.

The broad significance of this is that it is essentially a modern achievement—the integration of "the art of the museums with the color, movement, texture and the aspect of modern life." Here we have the program we have come to recognize in the accomplishment of the second half of the XIX Century. Cézanne, in particular, is called to mind.

The similarity in the words used to describe the work of Géricault and that of the later part of the century, does not necessarily mean that the early painter has initiated a uniquely modern procedure. Actually it seems that the condition of nature and traditional style is an artistic ideal that is very old. Compare CLÉMENT's summary of Géricault in his fundamental monograph published eighty years ago—"Au moyen de cette science précise et profonde qu'il avait acquise en étudiant naïvement la réalité et dans le commerce assidu des maîtres, il traite des sujets modernes, et il marque tout ce qu'il touche de sa puissante originalité. Comme les Grecs, il a trouvé le style en restant fidèle à la nature"—with the statements about the elements of the synthesis of Géricault's style and the "art of the museums" just cited. CLÉMENT, in repeating the old formula in relation to Géricault, refers to the Greeks following the ideal of his time. MR. BERGER refers to Cézanne following ours.

Nevertheless, the value of this book, in addition to the new material reproduced in the plates, is in the problems it raises and the suggestions it makes. The author is right when he says: "Having reached the necessary distance from the XIX Century, we begin to grasp that age as a unity and to discern common patterns behind its manifold phenomena." In pointing to Géricault as a key figure in the process of achieving this grasp, he is right again. The aspects of Géricault's art which he singles out are the important ones.

However, in order to attain a grasp of patterns in a manner which would permit us to operate with them in historical thinking in a precise and lucid way, a far more elaborate study is required than was possible in the present work.

FREDERICK B. DEKNATEL.

# NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

E. TIETZE-CONRAT, together with Hans Tietze, is the author of such notable books as the critical *Catalogue of the Works of Albrecht Dürer* (published in Augsburg and Basel between 1928 and 1937), a Catalogue of the *Venetian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries* (published in New York in 1944) and of the most recent *European Masterdrawings in the United States* (published in New York in 1947). A frequent contributor to the "Gazette," she now devotes an article to *Two Dosso Puzzles in Washington and in New York* . . . . . page 129

CHARLES SEYMOUR, Jr. is Assistant Chief Curator and Curator of Sculpture at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. He received his doctor's degree from Yale University (thesis on the Cathedral of Noyon, published in 1939) and was a student of Henri Focillon both in New Haven and Paris. His first contribution to the "Gazette," on aspects of XII Century sculpture at Noyon, appeared in 1937. Since then he has been represented on these pages by articles on *Versailles Fountains, Two Sculptures from the Theatre d'Eau in America* (in the first issue of our American edition, October 1942); on *A Madonna of Humility and Quercia's Early Style* (in collaboration with Dr. Hans Swarzenski); and on *Thirteenth Century Sculpture at Noyon and the Development of the Gothic Caryatids* (in our volume of "Mélanges Henri Focillon"). He now presents a study of an insufficiently known landmark of XVIII Century French sculpture, under the title: *Houdon's "Washington" at Mount Vernon Re-Examined* . . . . . page 137

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE was active, successively, at the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va., the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md., and, as Curator of Paintings, at the Carolina Art Association. She is now associated with the Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, cataloguing paintings and sculptures. Having published her articles on *Early French Sculpture in the Southern United States, 1562-1564* (July 1943) and *William John Coffee as a Portrait Sculptor* (Nov. 1945), the "Gazette" now presents her monographic study of *A French Priest, Painter and Architect in the United States: Joseph-Pierre Picot de Limoëlan de Clorivière* . . . . . page 159

PAUL M. LAPORTE, Ph.D., University of Munich (1933), has taught art at the Gordon School, Providence, R. I. (1939-1940) and, since 1940, has been teaching history of art at the Ethel Walker School, Simsbury, Conn. He traveled extensively in Europe and was a frequent contributor to Italian periodicals, studying monuments of Italy and Greece as well as the arts of Antiquity. He has given special attention to the promotion of the understanding of art through modern means. In 1943 he published an article in the "College Art Journal": *A Survey Course in Art History and Appreciation*. His article on *Humanism and the Contemporary Primitive* appeared in the "Gazette" (January, 1946) and is followed, in the current issue, by his study of *The Classic Art of Renoir* . . . . . page 177

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is by JOSE LOPEZ-REY, of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, MARY BARTLETT COWDREY, art critic, and FREDERICK B. DEKNATEL, Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University.

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*Published in Paris from 1859 to 1939. Publication  
now in its American edition continued in New York  
from October 1942*

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER  
GEORGES WILDENSTEIN

*Subscription price for the Gazette des Beaux-Arts is  
\$12.00 yearly, Single copy \$1.50, published monthly.*

19 East 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Telephone REgent 4-3300  
140, Faubourg St. Honore, Paris 8<sup>e</sup>